Death Ritual and Germanic Social Structure (*c*. AD 200-600)

Mads Ravn

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Introductory remarks and acknowledgements

This book is based on research carried out for my doctoral thesis from 1994 – 1998 at Cambridge University Britain and at Moesgård (Aarhus University) in Denmark. It follows the inspiration of a number of people. Methodologically the most imminent works in general are those of E. Pader 1982, J.D. Richards (1987) and I. Morris (1987 and 1992). Their research and use of multivariate analyses I found a convincing approach to burial analyses. At Aarhus University Torsten Madsen's knowledge of multivariate analyses (1988, 1990) has shaped my methods in particular. Torsten Madsen was very helpful in criticising my analyses when I worked towards publishing this book.

Also I wish to thank my patient supervisors during my doctoral research, Catherine Hills at Cambridge University and Ulf Näsman at Aarhus University for their useful comments and help. It was U. Näsman's inspiring paper (1988) that sparked my interest in the use of historical analogy and he who encouraged my to test its validity. I am especially thankful to Catherine Hills because she gave me access to her database of Spong Hill and thus provided me with a large material to test my methods and hypotheses. Catherine and Ulf shared their extensive knowledge on the Migration Period with me; so did Karen Høilund Nielsen who additionally gave me access to a number of her unpublished results. I am very grateful for that.

Theoretically, it is the long-term approach carried out by L. Hedeager (1992) and I . Morris (1987) that inspired my approach to this book, although I also attempt to qualify some of the results. Also the inspiring environment promoted by personalities such as C. Renfrew, I, Hodder and M. L. S, Sørensen in Cambridge challenged my Scandinavian outlook a great deal. This discourse, I hope, made this book different from similar attempts (Richards 1987, Pader 1982, Morris 1987, Hedeager 1992). The way I see the difference is, firstly, that where most scholars work within a relatively well-defined period or geographical area, this book transcends three well-established archaeologies and compare them at a structural level, assessing in which way they compare and differ. Secondly, I try to integrate results from the discipline of history and the use of analogy in my results. I may receive criticism for that but the results, I hope, may shape a different more interdisciplinary approach where we use various sources and ask different questions (Morris 1997).

It has been necessary to set a deadline after which I have included no further literature. This deadline will be 1998. Only a few books that are later have been included mainly because they were mentioned as publications in press or because I attended conferences where I head the papers presented, though the actual publications passed the deadline.

I owe a lot to many people who have helped me directly of indirectly over the years. Here I may mention at Department of Prehistoric Archaeology in Aarhus: Anita Lauersen, Søren Andersen, Helle Juel Jensen, Jens Andresen, Mads Kähler Holst, Jørgen Lund, Jens Poulsen, Henrik Thrane, Charlotte Fabech, Tinna Møbjerg, Jytte Ringtved, Birgit Rasmussen, Lars Nørbach, Peter Hambro Mikkelsen and Helle Vandkilde. Also I should mention people at my present work at Moesgård Museum, Jan Skamby Madsen and Niels Andersen. Thanks to Henrik Skousen for introducing me to Map-info so I could improve the graphics side of the book in the small hours. In Britain, I should mention Colin Renfrew who both as my professor, Master of College and internal examiner kept me on the edge by asking about and explaining to me the issues of ethnicity and migrations at various functions in Jesus College and in the Department of Archaeology. Also Marie Louise Stig Sørensen was very helpful, before during and after my stay. Also thanks to my housemate Helen Berry for hours of proofreading. Thanks to the ARC people, especially Dorian Fuller, Nicky Milner, Helen Lewis, Chris Stevens, Nicky Bovin, Karen Milek and Rupert Britton for getting my volume published (1997). Heinrich Härke and Nick Stoodley are thanked for revealing their results about Anglo-Saxon inhumations. Also Chris Scull and John Hines, the latter my external examiner, had useful comments to help me along. Thanks to Grete Lillehammer for useful discussions about the nature of Scandinavian archaeology. Mark Schschukin who kindly introduced me to the Lepesovka site at the "Hermitage" is thanked for having time for me. I also owe a lot to Ian Morris for e-mailing occasionally and for keeping me "into" burials, history and archaeology. Economically this study would have been impossible without the help from the Danish Research Academy, and from Aarhus University. I thank them both very much indeed.

Thanks to my wife Nienke Arntzenius for letting me go away. Our children Asmund and Marieke who came along as this book was prepared for publication are, no doubt, the reason why it did not come out before now. Last but not least my parents, N.F. Ravn and Polly Ravn, are thanked for translating texts, supporting and believing in me all the way. Unfortunately my farther did not get to see this book in print. I dedicate this book to him and his memory.

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Chapter One

Germanic Social Structure

The aim of this book is to understand the development of the social structure of Germanic society in selected parts of "Germania Libera" in Europe from around c. 200 AD to 600 AD. I shall return to consider what is meant by social structure in Chapter two in some detail. Suffice is to say that social structure is primarily defined as the way the Germanic tribes perceived and expressed themselves and their worldview through their texts, their person, gender, family, lineage, tribe, and internal social and religious relations in the material culture.

This book incorporates a relatively large time span which may highlight aspects of Germanic social structure not identified in traditional shorter studies dictated by arbitrarily defined periods and areas, an approach which is also emphasised by Parker Pearson (1984) and Hedeager (1992). It follows the line of Pader (1982) and Richards (1987) by making in-depth analyses of burial material. It also differs from those approaches in that it compares the grave-goods identified in several regions of Europe. The focus is especially on the way Migration period cemeteries are differently or similarly structured within Germanic society. The Migration period is defined widely as the time from c. AD 200-600, traditionally Eggers' phase C to D (1955), as well as Ament's (1977) period AMI to AMIII, also named the later Roman Iron Age and Migration Period or Germanic Iron Age in Scandinavian archaeology (Hansen 1988:23pp). In England, the equivalent time period is called late Roman and Early Saxon.

When the cemeteries are analysed, other find categories will be discussed in broader terms, together with analogies from social anthropology and from written sources, in this case, contemporary and later sources. The theoretical background for the use of analogy in Danish archaeology and in general is outlined in my M. Phil thesis at Cambridge University in 1991, subsequently published in 1993. I will summarise it here.

Analogy

The theory of the use of analogy can be outlined as the problem of being subjective in the interpretive process. In this way the problem of implementing ethnographic analogy in archaeology was identified by Kluckhohn (1940) and DeBoer and Lathrap (1979). The options were, either to use analogy, which entails subjectivity, or to avoid any use of analogy, which makes archaeology an almost empirical discipline. This identification inspired archaeology to develop method and theories of implementing ethnographic analogy in particular (Clark 1951, Hawkes 1954, Thompson 1956, Ascher 1961, Chang 1967, Binford 1967, 1972a, 1978, 1981, Freeman 1968, Munsen 1969, Orme 1974, 1981, Tringham 1978, Wobst 1978, Sabloff and Binford 1982, Gould and Watson 1982) alongside a discussion of its general use in philosophy (Uemov 1970, Copi 1982). Wylie (1980, 1982, 1985, 1988, 1989) and Hodder (1982a, 1986) made the connection between archaeology and philosophy by transferring the logical use of analogy in philosophy to archaeology. Historiographically, Wylie demonstrates that the search for objectivity is based on the misuse of formal analogies and the perception that the methodology of archaeology is similar to that of the natural sciences. Subjectivity in analogy is not erroneous. The problem is based on the definition of analogy, which hitherto was: "the inference that certain admitted resemblances imply further similarity"(Gould & Watson 1982:371). Instead of only similarities, Wylie demonstrates that in philosophy a definition of analogy is: "the selective transposition of information from source to….subject on the basis of a comparison that, fully developed,….specifies how the "terms" compared are similar, different, or…..of unknown likeness" (Wylie 1985:93). From that definition, Wylie distinguishes between a formal and relational analogy. A formal analogy is a: "point for point assessment of similarities or differences in the properties of source and subject" (Wylie 1985:94).

Analogies criticised earlier (e.g., Freeman 1968) are formal analogies not accounting for the relevance structuring source and subject. Wylie claims that many scholars were considering relevance (e.g., Clark 1951). She suggests that analogy is indispensable, and instead of avoiding it, archaeologists should use the most acceptable analogies. These are termed *relational analogies* because they comprehend:…."a function of knowledge about underlying "principles of…. connection" that structure source and subject and that…..assure, on this basis, the existence of specific further…..similarities between them" (Wylie 1985:95).

Earlier studies (e.g., Ascher 1961) only looked for similarities on the source side, (viz., in ethnographic and ethnoarchaeological studies). In addition there should be a concern to establish a link between the source-side and subject side (viz., the archaeological record) of the analogical equation by looking for similarities and dissimilarities between source and subject, and assessing the relevance or irrelevance of their discrepancies. This strategy implies a stronger concern with the *singularity of the archaeological record*. Earlier, one improved the amount of analogical sources by conducting quantitative ethnographic and ethnoarchaeological studies. Instead, a qualitative inquiry into the logic of observable phenomena is now required. It is impossible, as claimed (Binford 1967), to test analogical inference objectively, as a human consideration is involved in the assessment of relevance between analogical source and subject.

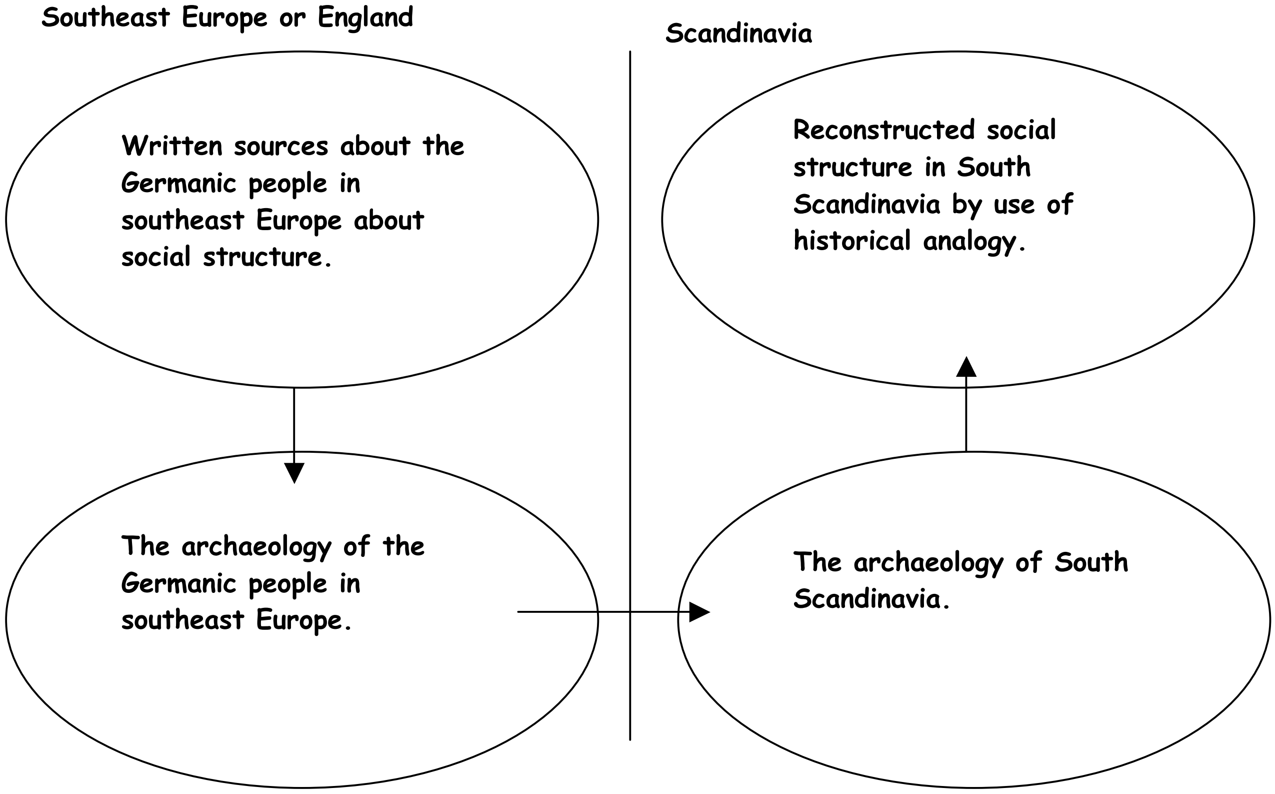
Southeast Europe or England
Scandinavia
Written sources about the Germanic people in southeast Europe about social structure.
Reconstructed social structure in South Scandinavia by use of historical analogy.
The archaeology of the Germanic people in southeast Europe.
The archaeology of South Scandinavia.

Fig 1.1. Model of the use of historical analogy. The logic is the same as with the use of ethnographic analogy. The comparison goes through the material culture. Here the only difference is a difference in space, not time.

Therefore, elaborating the analogical sources and establishing a causal connection to the archaeological subject, seems the only way to evaluate the rigour of the analogy. Ideally, once sufficient links are established, analogy is replaced by a theoretical explanation. To Wylie (1985:96) an explanation in archaeology seems impossible because, firstly, using extrinsic theory is extending it into a domain, which need not be appropriate to the archaeological record. Secondly, theories about prehistoric human behaviour cannot easily be tested. Therefore, analogical sources in general are creative for archaeology as an *inspiration* about processes, which may have happened in the past. One need not account for every similarity between source and subject, as one property from one source or a number from different sources can be tolerated as long as relevance between analogical source and subject is demonstrated. In this:"…, the model may be a conceptualisation of a context…that is substantially unlike any single, accessible…analog" (Wylie 1985:106).

Wylie's analysis, emphasising relational analogies, contains potential for reinforcing analogical inference, as it is a basic logic used in humanistic and scientific reasoning. The dialogue between source and subject can be seen as a more " secure framework(s) of inference by which we can speak in an informed way about the past (Renfrew 1993:248), or as a hermeneutic interpretive approach. The strength of the interpretation is the number and quality of indications and substantiations that can be found in the archaeological record (Hodder and Preucel 1996:312). Therefore, as emphasised by Näsman (1988), it seems relevant to project Wylie's logic of the relational analogy onto the study of the Migration Period. Others have also advocated the exercise of approximating written texts and archaeological sources where written texts are available because "it is here that the most rapid progress (in a cognitive archaeology) can be made" (Renfrew 1993:250).

As Näsman (1988) suggests, the literary sources of contemporary Goths may hold potential as an interpretive tool, provided that one looks into the detailed nature of the archaeological subject in that area, in order to compare it with the archaeological subject in other areas, in this case Scandinavia (fig 1.1). Thus, the analogy may be relational because it is closer in time and space as well as demonstrating a structural link of similarities and differences between historical source and archaeological material.

One of the enterprises of this book is, thus, to explore this methodology. This implies a closer look at the *singularity of the archaeological material* in south-eastern Europe as a means of assessing the relevance of the written sources in the same area about social structure in both Southern and Northern Europe, especially in Scandinavia. But it also involves exploring the controversial source of *Beowulf.* Here, *Beowulf* should be seen only as an analogy whose *structures* need substantiation in the archaeological record before they are accepted. In this way, the problem of dating the poem will be less important, as is also the case with anthropological analogies.

Thus, the enterprise first starts out with a general discussion of chiefdoms and early states from anthropological theory; only then does it approach the specific results from historical scholarship. Next, the focus is upon two primary sources about the specific social situation among the Germanic people. The first of these is a discussion of "*the passion of St. Saba"* the Goth, which is a rare contemporary primary source from the 4th century AD. A discussion of the relevance and use of the Gothic bible, *Codex Argenteus*, will be included. The second is the controversial source of Beowulf, included in an attempt to test various aspects of Anglo-Saxon society against other independent sources. The relevance of the sources is assessed from the number and nature of similarities and differences found, firstly, in other reliable written sources, secondly, in the archaeological record.

Given the few written sources available, the strongest emphasis of this book, however, is on the archaeological material, because it is the strength, relevance and singularity of the analogical subject that must be assessed before a comparison with the written evidence can be made. The grave material is analysed in particular, due to constraints upon scope. But I suggest that grave material, when subjected to detailed multivariate analysis, can reveal hidden symbolic aspects about gender, family, kin and internal relations of power. I shall return to what is meant by symbols in Chapter two.

I have chosen an in-depth qualitative analysis of relatively few, but well-recorded, Migration period cemeteries, firstly, because this approach, as discussed in the section on analogy, may better answer questions about the singularity of the archaeological record. A second reason is the fact that many others have pursued the general quantitative trends in a larger and more representative material (e.g., Hedeager 1992).

The early Saxon period from c. AD 450-600 in England provides most of the burial material for this book, which in all consist of c. 3000 burials. Here, especially, the cremation cemetery of Spong Hill has been included in the analysis. Since cremation and inhumation were in contemporary use at the site, cremation as well as inhumation graves have been included in the discussion. This is also because it is my contention that an investigation of a relationship between these two forms of burial ritual may point to the meaning behind them in terms of social structure. In order to make this analysis relevant, a discussion of recent works covering larger regions and trends in England (Brush 1994; Härke 1992a; Richards 1987) is added to the consideration of the representativity and general nature of Anglo-Saxon cemeteries.

In Denmark the problem with cemeteries has been that relatively few have been found, and few skeletons have been preserved from the Late Roman and Germanic Iron Age, especially in western Denmark. Nevertheless, in Denmark the chronology of cemeteries has been the subject of quite substantial work. Also, a number of recent scholars have approached the issue of cemeteries in an interesting way, (e.g., Ringtved 1988; Jørgensen 1988, 1990, Jørgensen 1997; Hedeager 1992; Nielsen 1992)[1], paving the way for a broader understanding of rituals in time and space. In this book, a detailed analysis of Hjemsted is added to the Danish discussion, because it is a well-recorded site that has been excavated in its entirety (Ethelberg 1988 & 1990). Secondly, Hjemsted has never been analysed in the way it is here, because it was not fully excavated when Ringtved (1988) worked with it[2]. Thus, my aim here is to refine the results, which have been reached with less, advanced analytical tools, by implementing the multivariate correspondence analysis in a different way. Naturally, I shall link the results of the analysis to the results reached by others in Southern Scandinavia.

South East Europe, the area from which the written sources are closest in time and space, is also the most problematic area in that data from its cemeteries has not been sufficiently published. In this book, the cemeteries selected which meet most of the criteria set for a detailed correspondence analysis are Romanian, especially Tigsor, Izvorul, Olteni, Independenta and Spantov[3]. The strength of correspondence analysis is that it is not as dependent on fully excavated sites when it comes to analysing combinations of material. In the discussion of demography, however, the results should be seen as tentative. In this area, the issue of representativity is the most problematic, because there is no scope for comparison except what has appeared in small papers without sufficient illustrations. In the sparse literature that *has* been available it seems, however, that there is a homogeneity, which is striking, both among cemeteries and settlements. In other words, my "window" into past Germanic society goes through the graves, a problematic source material, both in theoretical and in practical terms. In Chapter two I will discuss the methodological approach to understanding graves.

Hence, the method here is twofold. Firstly, I will analyse the grave material in a traditional statistical manner. Secondly, what has made this approach more time-consuming is the use of Exploratory Multivariate Analysis, in particular the so-called Multivariate Correspondence Analysis (Madsen 1988; Baxter 1994), which requires a detailed recording and experimental analysis of the data. The theory of this method is discussed in Chapter two. In other chapters, I shall include samples from cemeteries from South Scandinavia, South East Europe and England, in order to get a better idea of similarity and differences in the use of material culture symbols. I will interpret these structures as a means of expressing social structure and family structure in past Migration period. First we have, however, to approach the problem of terminology from anthropological theory in a discussion of early Germanic society.

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[1] Thank you to Karen Høilund Nielsen for giving me access to her unpublished thesis without which I could not have used the results from the analysis of the Lindholm Høje cemetery.

[2] Ethelberg concentrated on the chronology in each publication.

[3] No catalogues of Ukrainian cemeteries seemed sufficient for my investigation. Due to political turmoil, making it uncertain who was in charge of issuing visas and being in charge of museums, it became a waste of time to go there.

Chiefdoms and early states

Many scholars (papers in Rasmussen and Mortensen 1988; Fabech and Ringtved 1991; Steuer 1982; Wenskus 1961) propose that Germanic society, between the beginning of our era and AD 600, was developing towards a state-like society. It is thus necessary in particular to discuss the features that characterise the differences between a chiefdom and an early state in social anthropological theory. Secondly, one needs to discuss the archaeological implications of the theory.

The difference between early states and chiefdoms

Claessen and Skalnik (1978) made a number of general observations about the early state. The early state is: "The organisation for the regulation of social relations in a society that is divided into two emergent social classes, the rulers and the ruled" (Claessen and Skalnik 1978:21). An early state was characterised, but not necessarily created, by a) sufficient population density b) citizenship determined by residence and territory, c) a centralised organisation as well as power to maintain law and order d) an independent government which can defend itself against external threats e) a degree of social stratification, at least an upper and a lower group of rulers and ruled, f) a regular surplus in the production to maintain state organisation, g) a common ideology on which the ruler's position is based, very often on a mythical charter where the leader legitimises his position by divine descent. Often the state ideology is found to be upheld by a priesthood that institutionalises its position by the use of rituals and through material royal regalia and certain rules in rituals, for instance, burials.

Claessen and Skalnik (1978) divided the early state into three types. The first type is the *inchoate, rudimentary or archaic state* where kinship and family and community ties are still dominant. There is a limited existence of full-time specialists and a vague form of taxation. Also, there are social contrasts, which are offset by reciprocity and direct contact between ruler and ruled. *The typical early state* is the state where there is a competition between kinship groups and the locality, between appointment and hereditary rule. Non-kin officials and titleholders play a leading role in government administration. Also, redistribution and reciprocity dominate relations between the social strata. In the *transitional type,* appointed officials dominate the administrative apparatus. Kinship plays a minor role in government. Private ownership of land and cattle, as well as a market economy is present. There is also an antagonism between classes.

Kristiansen (1991) has another, but not entirely different, typology. He distinguishes between 1) a decentralised stratified society on the one hand, resembling a complex chiefdom and 2) a centralised archaic state on the other. In the former there is a presence of a decentralised subsistence production with nuclear settlements scattered over the landscape. The leadership rules through a retinue of warriors. Warrior chiefs are freed from kinship obligations, which allow them to undermine and exploit farming communities through taxation and tribute. In many cases, this departure from a kinship structure is legitimised by a new ideology. There are no towns, but ports of trade, which are controlled by a central government. There is also a presence of a specialised craft production by either slaves or free specialists, who are attached to a patron. This patron may also control long-distance trade. Central to this form of social stratification is that tributes and tax systems must be formalised. The *centralised archaic state*, on the other hand, formalises the tribal structure of the clan into a ruling elite. This elite legitimises its position by controlling the ritual access to the supernatural. The centralised state develops in areas of high productivity where surplus can be made and controlled. A formalised system of tribute makes it possible to convert the surplus into ritual activities, such as ceremonial centres and centralised trade. There may be a presence of slave labour, and a division of labour into classes that perform special activities. The economic structure is mainly from tribute between chiefs and their paramounts. The archaic centralised state maintains a developed bureaucracy, which administers trade production and religious activities. In comparison to the decentralised stratified society, the difference lies in the *centralised economy* that holds a potential for sustaining a state apparatus and a high ritual activity for the ruling class.

The difference between an early state and a chiefdom is thus based on contrasting structures of the *economy and ideology*. Kristiansen (1991:22) sees the main difference between an early state and chiefdom in the organisation of, for instance, labour. If a monument is constructed through social obligations and repaid by a feast, it represents a chiefdom; if it is constructed through land ownership and formalised control it represents an early state. Thus, the institution of redistribution is a characteristic of a chiefdom. Another difference between state and chiefdom lies in the ability of the state to *avoid fission*, in the short term, a factor that seems inherent and more frequent in chiefdoms (Cohen 1978:59; Earle 1991:4). The maintenance of kinship is generally agreed to be a key factor of the chiefdom. In theory, it is more likely that an early state would maintain slaves than a chiefdom, because the latter would need to obtain slaves from outside the kinship system.

Chiefdoms, typologised as either simple or complex, are divided by Earle (1991:3) by the polity size. In a simple chiefdom these are in the low thousands. Earle's simple chiefdom also has only one level in the political hierarchy above the community level. Complex chiefdoms have polity sizes in the tens of thousands, and two levels in the political level above the community level. Early states are normally considered to have three levels above the community level. Within a chiefdom, there are two types, the first being *the collective,* the other *individualising* (Renfrew 1974). The former is based on *staple finance*, such as feasts, and its control over subsistence production. It emphasises the importance of group definition through investments in corporate labour constructions. The latter emphasises the elite by status-defining ornaments, special housing and burial monuments - items of symbolic value. Thus, it emphasises *wealth finance* with its control over valuables. Wealth finance can be compared with prestige goods, to which I shall return below. According to Kristiansen (1991:23), chiefdoms based *on staple finance* may develop into *centralised archaic states*, while chiefdoms based on *wealth finance* develop into *decentralised stratified societies*. In the long term, decentralised stratified societies develop into feudal (decentralised) states, while the centralised states develop into empires.

Explanations for early states

One explanation for a chiefdom to develop into an early state, which is not given by evolution, could be external threats, such as warfare and subordination. Another factor could be internal developments where a *prestige goods economy* occurs. A prestige goods economy is based upon the leader's ability to create an economic surplus and avoid redistributing it as required in a chiefdom either by force or by legitimising the accumulation of wealth. Thus, the necessary and sufficient conditions for an early state is according to Runciman (1982:361) a) specialisation of leadership, b) centralisation of power c) permanence or stability of structure d) liberation from real or fictive kinship structures as the basis for the hierarchy of power. In short, power must combine economic productivity with ideological legitimisation and military organisation (Hedeager 1992:86). According to Friedman and Rowlands (1977), the intermediate stage between a chiefdom and an early state (archaic state or proto-state) goes through *the prestige goods system*. Here, an elite legitimises its position by coupling it with economic and military control. *Prestige goods* are defined as: "..objects which are not necessary for continued existence but which are essential in order to maintain the social and political organisation of the community by means of payments, such as dowries and political "gifts", for certain religious or medical activities, consecration rituals, fines, at funerals.." (Hedeager 1992:88). The prestige goods system is based upon monopoly and control with foreign luxury goods and social reproduction. In contrast to luxury goods of a chiefdom which are in circulation only among the elite, prestige goods play a role in the redistribution of gifts between a leader and his allies, in order to create dependencies and alliances. Prestige goods thus provide a means of control over people. Often, prestige goods are grounded in religion, which in turn legitimises the elite. The quest for conspicuous consumption makes the system expansionist, as does also the consequent need for an intensification of basic production. Thus, the prestige goods system cannot be maintained by land purchase only, but must eventually secure its maintenance with the help of warfare, conflict, and conquest, making it unstable. If the system cannot be maintained, its monopoly collapses, and society returns to the structure of a chiefdom. It thus seems that prestige goods and material symbols can be used as conspicuous symbols in an early state, as a means for the elite to maintain power and dependency relations.

This approach where an elite or superior polity in a centre-periphery relation is consciously manipulating the dominated is seen by Renfrew (1996) as a "Marxist" exogenous explanation, being similar to early diffusionist explanations. An alternative explanation for a similar development with a similar consequence is the peer-polity interaction (PPI) model put forward by Renfrew (1996). Besides qualifying a centre-periphery relation, the PPI model claims that the explanation for early states is found at a smaller scale through endogenous a) competition b) symbolic entrainment and c) increased flow in exchange goods between equally strong polities within a region. Arguing for an explanation at a smaller scale between the polities, but against an endogenous view *within* the polity, this model seems an interesting alternative. It is also useful because it enables the scholar to work with it in a spatial dimension, contemplating issues such as borders, regions and hierarchical settlements within a polity. The main difference between the PPI and centre-periphery perspectives may be that they answer different questions at different levels. Though the discussion above relates to the issue of social structure I will in large parts of the book be working at a smaller scale of an individual community. This is why the models will not play a leading role in this book, even though their relevance must be contemplated throughout the book.

In both models, it is more relevant that the appearance of a *competent army* as well as *competition* and a consequent *increased production* are key factors, though not an explanation, in the development of early states. Thus, if a Germanic society is to be called an early state the existence of a well-organised army and a warrior aristocracy is to be expected also at the small scale. Also, the means of production should be intensifying and there should be evidence for an emerging long distance exchange on a large scale.

Social anthropological models, being very generalised, pose a limit to the conclusions, which can be made. The important shortcoming of Claessen's and Skalnik's (1978) cross-cultural analysis is the dubious representativity of their sample. Thus, as proposed by Eriksen (1994:193) and Kristiansen (1991), a better way to assess the complexity of a society is to look at, a) the institution of power viz., how is power enforced and legitimised and b) at principles of social differentiation, viz., internal competition between different factions of society. These proposals rest, however, in the Marxist definition of ideology, which sees it as a means to mask social reality. Others see ideology as lived *doxa* (Bourdieu 1977, 1990:68:, Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992). The consequence is that material culture thus is the objectification of social action, to which I shall return in Chapter two. Thus, it may be more useful to investigate in depth the nature of a selected material culture and its social practices (Shanks 1993a:208; 1993b), since the ideology of conspicuous consumption is not an explanation *per se* (Treherne 1995:114). With this approach, one may, in a less ethnocentric way approach the organisation and the variation of the society studied. Thus, the approach here will be inductive, looking more closely at the *specific situation* of Germanic society. Some of the specifics of Germanic society may be seen, firstly, in the written sources and, secondly, in the archaeology. As family and kin relations here are seen as one part of social structure, an outline of the terminology in social anthropology is needed.

Terminology

In this book *agnation* means relationship through males. A synonym for *agnation* is *patriliny*. This term should not be confused with *patrilateral* kin, which means a person's relatives on the father's side. *Matriliny* means relationship through females. *Matrilateral* means a person whose relationship is mediated through his mother. Both *agnation* and *matriliny* are said to be *unilineal* because they trace relationship through one line. *Cognation* is the relationship that is traced without regard to sexual restrictions. It is a synonym for *bilateral*. When discussing family relations, *category* indicates a class of relatives who are defined for some purpose, but do not act together as a group or have a sense of corporateness. Classes of relatives with inheritance rights are usually categories. *Group* implies a degree of corporateness. *Clans* and *lineages* are descent groups. Clan and lineage indicate a group of kinsmen formed on the basis of descent from a common ancestor (*ancestor focus*). When the relationship is demonstrable and not assumed the group is called *lineage*, whether *matrilineage*, *patrilineage* or *cognatic* lineage. Units of higher order, a number of lineages, or assumed or fictive genealogical relationships are called clans. Recent research also works with clans as being cognatic, and not only unilineal, as was earlier assumed (Fox 1967:166). *Kindred* is based on ego-focus. It is defined by the common relationship all its members have with an individual (ego), who is the centre of the group[4]. Theoretically none of the principles of relationship above are exclusive of one another, because the kinship system of a society can have more than one principle in operation as our own today. With the preceding terminology we may now proceed to discuss how historians have looked upon Germanic society.

Some recent approaches to Germanic society in historical research.

Early historical research in the 20th century saw Germanic society as a copy of high medieval society, where a feudal landlord and his kin and followers based power on the land. In the works of Dannenbauer (1956) and Schlesinger (1953), the lord is the central person, around whom the retinue develops, slowly dissolving the concept of the tribe. Slightly different is Wenskus's (1961) view, which sees Germanic society based on the concept of the tribe and its descent, real or unreal. Thus, the warlord is the leader of an important lineage or clan and his power develops from contact with the Romans and from within his tribe. His ranked position is manifested by myths of origin of common descent. The leader is supported by a warrior retinue that develops on the basis of mutual services and pay (Wenskus 1974; Bazelmans 1991). In other words, his family is the tribe because he creates the tribe. According to some historians it is not before the appearance of early laws of the 5th to 7th centuries AD (Amory 1993) that society changes towards a more rigidly divided hierarchical society, which by some is called feudal (Bagge 1986:93). It is not coincidental, that histories based on myths of origin are being written by for example Jordanes and Cassiodorus about the Goths in the 6th century as well as by Paulus Diaconus about the Lombards in the 8th century. Hedeager (1993;1997:45ff) and Amory (1997) suggest that myths of origin and ethnic consciousness are closely intertwined among the tribes in times of unrest and migrations. Whether or not private ownership of land was present, and whether or not the tribe came before or after, it seems that the discussion among historians can be summarised by the fact that a *warrior retinue* was the axiom around which Germanic society developed. This retinue apparently sparked a development towards expansionism, a contention that can be substantiated in the sources discussed below. Before I discuss the concept of retinue, I shall turn to other discussions.

Steuer (1982:17) stresses his concern with the previous use of archaeological material. Here, juridical aspects of past society were often discussed in the archaeology, such as identifying princes, kings and slaves in graves and settlements from the Migration period. This may by some be seen as a circular argument because such figures cannot be identified without texts. In an attempt to avoid this circularity, Steuer suggests that archaeology cannot approach the disciplines of history and social anthropology before an inductive analysis of the archaeological material on its own terms is exhausted (1982:27-28). Others suggest that this model does not work, because we approach the data hermeneutically from a preconceived knowledge of what to expect from the archaeological material (Hodder 1986:187). The difference between a circularity and a hermeneutic approach is thus the detailed analysis, not only of similarities, but also of the differences in the archaeological record. In other words, from opposition in the material culture, we reach a new and unique understanding of the past, as also expressed above by Wylie (1985; 1989). Thus, I shall look, firstly, at the concept of the family in the Migration period as it has been seen in historical scholarship.

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[4] And may be subdivided into "created kinship" and consanguinity.

Family and kin in recent historical scholarship

From the literary sources occurring either before or after the Migration period, it seems that Germanic society at the lowest level had a similar concept of the family to that of a Roman "familia". This means that a family would have included more individuals than we would today consider being a nuclear family. The pattern of an extended family is substantiated by Kuchenbuch (1978) in his analyses of 9th century Abtei Prüm in France. In this model, a man took precedence over his wife, a father over his son, an older brother above the younger. Kuchenbuch suggests that this points to a *patrilinear* and *patrilocal* social organisation (1978:385). Additional to the married primary spouses, the family also included unmarried sisters, the widowed mother/father, and the grandchildren. A number of male and female servants/workers/thralls both free and unfree[5] belonged to the household; in short the family included all who were necessary to maintain the enclosed household or farm unit (*mansus*) and its land. Also, the analysis of the economy shows that there were no specialised farms, but that they grew different crops and had different animals to maintain their own household. Having scrutinised Tacitus, Caesar and lex Salica etc. Murray (1983) reaches the conclusion that there is no evidence for a clan or lineage in early Germanic society. Rather he sees the kinship structure among the Germanic people as a bilateral kindred (Murray 1983:223). As seen, different perceptions of descent could have been present at the same time and especially among the leading families. A concept of common descent could have been used to create a notion of ethnicity, as implied by Amory (1997:14ff), whilst a bilateral kindred was the real practice[6]. In later Norwegian sources from the 12th century, Vestergaard (1988; 1991) does not see it as important whether it was a *cognatic* or *unilineal* society, but focuses on *patrimony* and *matrimony* (1988:190). In this connection, Vestergaard distinguishes the *ætt*, which designates a social group of those who belong together because of shared descent. *Odal* designates that which belongs to them, patrimonial land, and all other property. Thus, he distinguishes between internal private affairs, which belong to the *ætt*-group, and affairs between members of different *ætt*-groups belonging to the public sphere. He suggests that there was a tendency for there to be contact between the ætt-groups, with a tendency towards hypergamy, meaning that women married "upwards" - a fact that would explain the presence of a dowry among the Germanic people (Vestergaard 1991:26).

Thresholds in Germanic society

From written sources, that is mainly written laws, attitudes towards age are also revealed. It seems that the age of ten was a threshold after which one could inherit (Hlothere and Eadric, 6 (AD 673-685) as well as be prosecuted (Ine, 7.2, AD 668-694), later raised to the age of 12 (Aethelstan 1, ca 925-930). In poetry, it seems that for boys the year of seven was the threshold after which childhood ended and one was sent into fosterage (Beowulf vv 2428-2429)(also Bede, HE V.24) with one's stepfather or patron, a fact that is mentioned in later sources as well (Davidson 1964:11ff; Härke 1992a:55, Härke 1997a). The next threshold is the age of 14 or 15. Here, the person entered the world of grown-ups and could start a career either by working or as a warrior (Bede, HE V19). It seems that warriors were young, between 15 and 25 as is also mentioned in Beowulf (vv 729, 1888-1889; 2626-2628, and Finnesburh; Battle of Maldon, 11. 152-154). At around 30 years of age another threshold in the age hierarchy follows, if one can use the clerical hierarchy as an indicator of the norms among the upper levels of contemporary and earlier society, since this was the age when Bede was ordained (Bede, HE V.24). That age and power are closely interconnected are also indicated by passages in Beowulf (vv 2041; 2207-2208).

Also, from early Anglo-Saxon laws and poems (Dobbie 1958), it is clear that the household was an important aspect of Germanic society. For example when Beowulf arrives at king Hrothgar's hall, the first thing he is asked is to what household he belongs (Beowulf vv 330-331). In the early laws and in the Beowulf poem, it is evident that if someone from a household commits a criminal act, such as homicide, the entire household is responsible (Beowulf vv 156, 459, 2028-2030, 2057-2066, 2479-2482). Thus, the early law texts as well as early fiction point to the fact that the household lived under the same roof and was seen as a unity, in spite of internal divisions of legal status and wealth.

Indigenous words in the 4th century Gothic Bible *"Codex Argenteus"*[7] point to the presence of similar institutions before contact with the Romans, and one can identify similar structures of the household among the Goths in the 4th century (Wolfram 1988). From the Gothic bible, it can be concluded that institutions such as slaves (*skalk*) day-labourers (*asneis and magus*) and lords (*fraudja*) lived together with the family (*inakunds*) in the manor (*gards*) on his land (*haimothli*). *Haims* is the word for a village or hamlet. That these are not loan words from Latin points to the presence of such institutions in the mind of *Bishop Wulfila*, and thus in the minds of the Goths. There was also a distinction between free (*freis*), called the long-haired, and unfree.

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[5] Kuchenbuch discusses whether they are slaves and concludes that their status was similar to that of house slaves in the Roman definition. The presence of slaves of course is determined by the definition of a slave, which mainly is seen as persons who could be sold without their own consent. This they could in the 9th century according to Kuchenbuch (1978:79). See also Patterson (1982:13) who sees slavery as the permanent, violent domination of natally alienated and generally dishonoured persons.

[6] Though I cannot refer to any article, Ian Wood implied in a recent lecture at University of Aarhus that a bilateral kindred was also present among the Franks.

[7] The Codex Argenteus was written down by the Christian, and therefore exile Gothic, Bishop Wulfila in the 4th century in Adrianapolis just south of the Gothic territory (Wolfram 1988).

Clan and lineage

The larger social unit is the clan and lineage (Eriksen 1994:110). It is difficult to assess from the archaeological evidence how important the clan was in the organisation of the Germanic tribes. In the written sources, the classical authors[8] write that in war the Germanic people were often organised according to their clan, but Murray (1983) claims from meticulous analysis that such an institution is non-existent.

The evidence from settlements in South Scandinavia and Northern Germany cannot substantiate the importance of the clan in the settlement pattern before more detailed analysis of settlement patterns in a region have been assessed. All we can see is a community, which changed over the years, from a communally enclosed group of settlements, to individually, enclosed farmsteads (Hedeager 1992:194). A communally enclosed settlement could point to a common clan based organisation, but it could also point to a particular economic system.

Tribe

The next level is the tribe (in Gothic = *kuni*). It is unclear where the dividing line between the clan and the tribe lies. Among some Latin authors, there is none. In Wenskus' interpretation (1961), any *gens* can be a *natio*, but a *natio* is not a *gens*. Thus, *gens* must be seen as the common descent group, or the clan. The *natio* must be the tribe. So, from the written sources, the tribe can only be assessed vaguely[9]. In the archaeological material, it is tempting to interpret regionality, that is, the presence of contemporary and similarly patterned settlements and cemeteries in a region, as a tribe, as is also proposed by ethnoarchaeological studies (Hodder 1982b). This approach has been applied successfully in Denmark by Ringtved (1988), and in England by Myres (1969), Vierck (1978) and Brush (1994) on archaeological material (see also Nielsen 1997b) to which I shall return. With a modern definition of ethnicity as:…"culturally ascribed identity groups, which are based on the expression of real or assumed shared culture and common descent" (Jones 1997:84)[10], the issue of tribes has also become less controversial. The archaeological evidence from southeastern Europe also defines six centres (Kropotkin et al. 1976), though regions in an archaeologically rigid sense have not been assessed.

In the written evidence of the Visigoths (Wolfram 1988), there are, however, a number of indications for the presence of tribes. They considered the tribe (*kuni*) to be the common unity, and their area was divided into six tribes. Within this, one had rules and institutions. The leaders of the settlement were the "best men" (*maistans and sinistans*)[11]. They met in a council, which was above the level of the single settlements. A leader, in Gothic called reiks, in Latin dux, headed this council. Possibly a *reiks* was a leader of a tribe. The *reiks* had a number of followers or a retinue (*siponjos*) who served him. The six known tribes of the Goths could unite in a confederation, as we know they did in AD 376, when the Huns attacked them, appointing an elected leader called *kindins*, (in Latin *judex)*, suggesting that he also had juridical powers. The *kindins* institution was weak in that he was neither allowed to leave the territory nor the confederation, nor disobey the confederate council (Wolfram 1988:95). The word *thiudans*, also meaning king, was only used in the bible about the Roman Emperor and God, suggesting that this office was not present. Following Wolfram, the increasing power of the *reiks* developed into the institution of the king in the 5th and 6th centuries, a pattern which coincides well with developments among the Franks (Wood 1994) as well as with the presence of king Theoderic as a king of the Western Roman Empire from 489-526 (Amory 1997). An essential source in the understanding of the social structure among the Goths is the Passion of St. Saba which I will discuss now.

The passion of Saba the Goth

The *"Passion of St.Saba*" is a letter, which is found in the Vatican. It dates from the 10th century. It was only discovered at the beginning of last century (Delehaye 1912). The event described can be dated to April 12th 372 AD, and the account seems, from the intimate details and compassionate exclamations of the events, to have been written down shortly afterwards by a fellow Christian Goth who was a firsthand witness. His Greek language is basic, meaning that he probably was a Goth himself (Herschend 1992).

The leading men of the hamlet did not and would not hinder Saba in being a Christian. It was only when he got into contact with the *reiks*, Atharidos, and his "band of lawless robbers" (Flemberg 1992:172), which must be understood as his retainers, that he was prosecuted and drowned for being a Christian. It seems from here that the *reiks* was above the single hamlet, but claimed authority over several communities that had to be subdued. What we witness then is a conflict of power and social rights, not so much a conflict of religion, though this is how the author perceives it. The issue is whether the warlord was allowed to interfere in the local tradition and force free men to partake in a ritual, which was imposed by the warlord and unwillingly accepted by the locals, except for Saba who stubbornly sought confrontation. In other words, a conflict, which is typical of a change from an egalitarian society towards a stratified society, has been unwittingly outlined for us, a change which can be dated to the 4th century among the Goths. Another written source that reveals the social structure among the Germanic people is the Beowulf poem.

The Beowulf poem

Beowulf is the poem about the princely Geat hero,

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[8] Tacitus, Germania 7 and Paulus Diaconus in Historia Langobardorum II,9.

[9] Fama tamen late serpente per Gothorum reliquas gentes, quod… (Ammianus Marcellinus 31:4, 8).

[10] I will return to the discussion of ethnicity in Chapter five.

[11] In Latin called *optimates*.

Beowulf, who sailed from Geateland[12] to the hall of the Scyldings in Denmark. Grendel the "monster" haunts King Hrothgar of Denmark from the fenlands, and even his best men cannot kill it. Beowulf kills the monster and its mother. He returns home to become king with lots of gifts. Many years later he kills, and is killed, by a dragon. The secondary literature on Beowulf is immense (e.g., Chase 1981; Westphalen 1967; Kiernan 1981, Bjork and Niles 1997), which is why I have here confined myself to focus mainly on the source itself. It should be mentioned, however, that the main discussion and problem with the poem is one of dating it. Though most agree that the present manuscripts handed down to us can be dated to the 11th century, the dating of the composition of the poem is disputed. In general, the range suggested lies between AD 500 -1000, more probably AD 700 -1000, because of the presence of Christianity in the poem. I shall not assess which of the opposing schools of thought is "right" on the subject of dating, because, to my knowledge, none holds the decisive evidence needed to assess the real date of the poem. Indeed, the poem may be a palimpsest of different world-views, where the latest is that of Christianity. I shall stress, however, that the poem here serves as an analogy of structures and institutions, which we should look for in the archaeology. Thus, as in an excavation, unveiling the layers of the palimpsest is here one of the purposes of the use of historical analogy, as it is with ethnographic analogy[13]. The focus changes, therefore, more from that of the date of the poem, to that of its sociological content. Whatever the date, it can be agreed by all scholars that it is written down in a *cultural tradition* which in the context of Migration period Europe and thus it seems less ethnocentric than much anthropological theory. In other words, *Beowulf* is closer in both time and space. As long as there are sufficient traceable links in the archaeological record pointing to the general institutions mentioned in the text the text is relevant. If we can identify halls, armed housecarls, beer-drinking and prestigious cups in the archaeology, there is a case for saying that these institutions must have existed in a similar, though not identical, form from the date they occur in the archaeology (Hills 1997:291ff). But at this level, it is the archaeology, which must provide the answer, by showing significant and meaningful links between, for instance, older men, horses and drinking cups. The contextual meaning of the archaeological evidence, must in the following discussion lead to an assessment of the nature and difference of leadership and social structure in the Migration Period. I shall return to this in the discussion in the conclusive chapter.

It is clear that many of the features, the hall, the ship, the landscape, can be found in Denmark as early as around the 4th century AD, some even before. The sentence "I was told by those who live in the country, my people and the hall rulers" (vv.1345-72)[14], illustrates according to Herschend (1992:153) the social pyramid, whereby hall owners are situated immediately below the king (cyning; gud-cyning = warlord). In other words the hall was the centre of the "world" (v 76 and vv 310-311). The fen land as well as the forest, on the other hand, were areas of the supernatural and asocial (vv820-822;1358-1368-1378) (see also Hines 1997:390), maybe a border zone. The hall (heall or sele) was also the centre of power and rituals, such as drinking, and gift giving (v 838; gifhealle), as seen throughout the poem. It is also evident in the dictionary (Hall 1960) that the word *heall* can be translated as meaning palace, temple and law-court, suggesting a close relation between the hall and the centre of power in society. The ritual consists of giving swords (vv 1020-24) and other prestigious armour, gold and horses (vv 1034-37) which must be seen as the most prestigious possessions. Another prestigious possession that belonged to the king were golden rings (vv 79-81; 3053-3057). Often, the ceremonies included drinking wine (*win*; vv 1158) from cups and vessels. Mead (*medo*) seems to be of primary importance in the drinking ritual, since it appears in most cases in the text. It also appears when an oath is initiated between the warlord and his retinue (2633-2635). Also the hall is sometimes referred to as a mead-hall (*medoærn*) (e.g, v 69; vv1013-15). Beer (*beor*) (vv 615-624) was drunk, but it seems, probable that it was mainly in relation to eating and celebrating after a ritual within the hall. Land (*geard*) and a hall were some of the best gifts one could be given from a warlord, which was the case when Beowulf was given land by the king because he killed Grendel (vv 2193-2198) (Herschend 1997:69). The institution of giving gifts to a group of men can be interpreted as an institution of retainership and a prestige goods economy (vv 431-32, 633;1297)[15]. Thus, the synonym for king is often "giver of rings" (v 353)[16]. That power, age and hair were related is indicated in the description of the king as the grey-bearded (vv356)[17], also suggesting that hair and colours could have symbolic value of power (Hallpike 1969). This connection is also indicated in Childeric's grave (Wood 1994:41), and from the free among the Goths who are referred to as the long-haired (Wolfram 1988:103)[18]. The most notable of rituals was the burial of Beowulf. Since this book focuses on burials, it is reasonable to discuss the depiction of Beowulf's funeral.

The body of Beowulf was placed on a bier, and he was carried to the place where his body had to dwell (Beowulf v 3109). Then warriors from near and far had to bring timber for the cremation pyre. Next, the best men collected the precious gifts, which they loaded in a cart. The pyre was filled up with Beowulf's armour and he was then placed in the centre, while the warriors wept. The body was burned while the mourning continued among the men. A woman with her hair pinned up lamented a song of grief about the evils, which would befall them without their leader. This part of the ritual could be seen as a reaffirmation of the social order as identified in many societies (Bloch 1982:41). The transcendence of the soul from the body to heaven is indicated by the obscure sentence "heaven swallowed the smoke" (v 3155)[19], which implies a heavenly God. Thus, it seems that fire was the means by which the body disintegrated. After the cremation it was important to construct a mound that took ten days to make and which is very conspicuous in that it could be seen from far away. Again, the conspicuous consumption of labour, gold rings and choreography (by the sea) is interesting. The core theme of conspicuous consumption is indicated by the expression that gold would be .."useless to men..".(v3167). After having put Beowulf to rest, his retainers, while still mourning, rode around the mound, thus honouring the nobility. Again, they reaffirmed the social order by outlining the virtues of Beowulf. The poem substantiates the claim that the key values of this society were courage, fairness, and lust for fame.

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[12] Probably in Götaland in Sweden.

[13] For a similar view but a different terminology see Trigger 1995, see also Ravn and Britton 1997.

[14] Ic Þæt londbuend, leode mine, selerædende, secgan hyrde.

[15] Mid minra secga gedriht; Se wæs HroÞgare hæleÞa leofost.

[16] Beagas dælde. Beaga bryttan.

[17] Hwearf Þa hrædlice Þær Hroðgar sæt, eald ond unhar mid his eorla gedriht;

[18] Though Amory (1997:348ff) suggests that the custom was also known among Romans.

Many interpretations about the Beowulf poem have been put forward at various levels (Lee 1997; Hill 1997). Some have seen it as a fight between good and evil (Clark 1997). Herschend (1992) identifies a similar conflict, but sees it as a fight between the individual and the collective, as in the *Passion of St. Saba*. One may additionally see Grendel as the outsider that challenges the social order of the hall, which equals the world. He is thus portrayed as a "monster" by the "politically correct" part of society, which narrates the poem. Interestingly, one word used for Grendel is *eoten*, which apart from "monster" also means merely "enemy". Could it be that Grendel was an enemy because he was an outsider who did not recognise the social and religious system of the halls, in short, the new "world-order" which was being established[20]. The dating of the presence of this conflict is less certain, but the presence of halls makes it likely that a similar social conflict occurred around the 4th or 5th century in Scandinavia, and in England in the 5th or 6th century.

The retinue and its relation to early states

Steuer outlines and defines the concept of a *comitatus*, ("*Gefolgschaft*") or *retinue* as: "Eine anzahl von Kriegern, die gegen Bezahlung sich eine vermögenden Krieger zugesellen und für kriegerische Handlungen zur Verfügung stehen" (Steuer 1982:48)[21]. In this context it is unimportant whether the wealthy warlord is a king or just a powerful person, since all kinds of patronage relationships at all levels seem to have been present. As implied above, the nature of the retinue is indicated in the Beowulf poem.

From the lord, one could expect gifts, land, patronage, a place to sleep (vv1580), honour and booty. This whole system was centred in the hall. It was here that the warlord and retinue met for reaffirming the world order by drinking at the mead-bench (Beowulf vv 1050-1052), receiving gifts (ibid v 838; gif-healle), and singing about the myths of the past (ibid. vv1063-1067). The lord could in return expect a number of reliable men who partook in his expeditions of war. The retainership is referred to in the poems as "taking the mead in the great hall" (Beowulf vv 2630-35). The oath was not relinquished by the death of the lord. It required that the retainer kept his oath until the death of his lord was avenged. To flee was unworthy (Beowulf vv 2890-2891). From this a value system of age, pride, honour, appearance, dress, weapons, physical strength and courage (Beowulf vv 745-824; 2507-2509) appears (Clark 1997). The warlord should not be arrogant (ibid., 1706-1707, 1760) and was not expected to brag, but was friendly towards his followers and retainers (vv 1721-1722). It appears that this system of values did not change with the advent of Christianity. The sword, arrows and spear appear to be weapons associated with high status (333- 334; 674; 1434-1435). Swords seem to have been the warlord's most important item. They were either inherited (796;1458;1558) or buried in the grave. The warlord was also expected to keep a polite distance from women (vv 623-630). Judging from the scarcity of sexuality in the poem, it seems that it was not recognised as being an important factor in prestige of the leader. Its scarcity could either be explained by the fact that the poem was written down after Christianity appeared, or that it did not matter in the system of keeping up appearances among peers. That heterosexuality was the norm among the elite is suggested by the condescending expression about Grendel's mother, who, besides other character flaws seemed to be of indeterminate sex (1350-1353). In general, women and sex played a secondary role in the elitist world-view of heroes and kings, which was probably unlike the "real world", and among poorer people, of which we have no records (see however Olsen 1997). Women, as shall be seen in some of the grave analyses, are more visible than the men, which suggest that they were indeed important in their sphere. But this fact may be explained by the fact that the texts and the graves express two different levels of society (see also Morris 1997). At the level of the elite, men were the most important members of society, as may also be seen from the analysis of Spong Hill (Chapter eight) where men at the level of the individual hamlets were more important. By contrast at the level of the regions it is evident that women were much more visible (Brush 1994), because they played a role as "ethnic markers", which is also seen in present ethnoarchaeological studies (Hodder 1982b).

Degrees of power

Steuer (1982:55) distinguishes between three sorts of leadership and retinue, as follows: A) the first is a simple informal relationship mainly based on the prestige and charisma of the leading person. Here, the followers are recruited mainly from the same tribe, meaning that a violent attack on kin is less likely. Thus, a situation such as the one that happened to Saba could hardly have taken place. Violence was mainly directed towards external enemies. This first step towards a system of retinue is the most problematic, because there would potentially be opposition, consisting of other charismatic persons who could challenge the warlord, as also outlined by Thompson (1965) among Germanic people of the 1st and 2nd centuries AD. In social anthropological terms this type of society may be a chiefdom. The size of the polity points to a definition of a complex chiefdom. B) An external threat can lead to the second category of leadership. This institution is stronger because there is a dependency relation of services between the warlord and the warrior (Steuer 1992). Here, the warriors can also be “foreigners”. This means that the possibility for violence against the local population increases. In such a situation the leader would need to keep his men busy. War raids and small-scale war could be a solution. This would also provide war booty for the leader’s men, making them more dependent. It could be this kind of retinue which is described in the *Passion of St. Saba*. From the discussion above this system must be termed the “rudimentary state” or, as Kristiansen expresses it, the “decentralised stratified society” or “a typical early state”. C) The third kind of leadership is a warlord who also provides food and pay for his retinue, besides being a charismatic leader. The introduction of payment means that the warlord must constantly expand his assets, (the territory, food and handicraft production) by making raids and gaining even more war bounty, in order to pay his warriors and provide them with weapons and food. It appears that this kind of system may be identified in the Beowulf poem. In social anthropology, this type of society is called the “decentralised (feudal) state” in Kristiansen’s terminology and the “transitional early state” in Claessen’s and Skalnik’s terms[22].

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[19] Heofon rece swealg.

[20] For further discussion on enemy and friend concepts among the Anglo-Saxons see Charles-Edwards (1997).

[21] For an analysis and historiography of the term "Gefolgschaft" see Bazelmans 1991.

A short definition of the institution of the retinue could be:..”ein Herrschaftsinstrument, dessen Stütze Krieger sind, die materiall entschädigt werden” (Steuer 1982:48). Thus, the retinue is a mobile group of warriors which slowly detach themselves from the concept of the family, idealising violence, beauty, power and risk, making them prone to violence against their own kin. It is only the amount of gifts and land between the warlord and the warrior that makes the difference whether the person is a king of the 7th and 8th centuries, or a local warlord in the 4th and 6th centuries.

Conclusion

The discussion of anthropological sources as well as written sources made me focus more specifically on a number of terms, which should be pursued in order to assess the social structure of the migration period society. The discussion of similarities and differences between early states and complex chiefdoms ended with the conclusion that the typologies were only useful to a certain degree. Instead as suggested by Eriksen (1994:193), a more profitable route into the degree of stratification of a society was, firstly, to look at the institution of how power was enforced and legitimised, secondly, to identify the internal competition between different parts of society.

Instead of discussing the typology of anthropological models, I chose to focus on the written evidence of the Migration Period because it was closer in both time and space to the specific historical development of Migration period Europe. Here, historical scholarship and primary sources showed that the institution of a leader and his followers were important parts of Germanic society. The duality of a leader and his retinue probably sparked the development from an open ranked society towards a stratified society (Steuer 1989:120; 1994). Although the Beowulf poem is chronologically problematic, it is argued from its sociology and details of morale, value systems, and norms behind the text, that it is a better analogical source, and that it lies closer to the specific cultural inheritance of Germanic culture. Thus, it is more relevant than many anthropological models. Neither kind of source should be discarded, because they serve as an heuristic tool and inspiration for archaeologists when working with the archaeological material.

The quest for the origin of certain typologies of societies seems futile, firstly, because, the search for the origins of something always makes the task teleological and ethnocentric. Instead we should look for different competing and contingent institutions in society. Secondly, as mentioned under the discussion of chiefdoms and states, the quest for a certain typology cannot be the goal of our research. Rather our search should be for the presence and contextual meaning of certain institutions of social differentiation.

It seems that a deeper analysis at the micro-level of the analogical subject, the archaeological material, is one solution to this problem, when the analogical sources have been explored and adapted to the particular cultural situation. In other words, we need to look deeper into the symbolic language behind Germanic culture, as it is patterned in the material culture within their community. In this book, the main focus will be on the grave material. Since we are approaching the rites of the local society, and assessing how material symbols were used in a social strategy to express the practice of internal differences, we may identify aspects, which either match or do not match aspects that have been identified in the texts. If they do not match we have identified a pattern “that is substantially unlike any single, accessible…analog” (Wylie 1985:106). This is also a goal of the present survey. But how this may be achieved requires a discussion of the theory and method of cemetery analysis, as well as the issue of understanding ritual, symbols and their relation to material culture. This I shall discuss in Chapter two.

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[22] See also Herrmann 1982.

Chapter Two

Theoretical and methodological approaches to burials

"Time is not the only dimension"
(J.B. Kruskal 1971, statistician)

Introduction

This chapter is about the theoretical and methodological approach to burials. Here, I intend to outline the problems and possibilities involved in using burials as a means of understanding past social structure. Firstly, I shall discuss previous approaches to burial issues; secondly, I will discuss the theoretical assumptions behind burial issues, and, thirdly, I shall discuss my approach to the archaeological data in this book.

History of research of the archaeology of death

L. Binford was the first who explicitly expressed the theoretical potential of burials as a means to understand past social aspects. In his classic paper, he reached the conclusion that variability of a burial is a *reflection* of social differentiation (Binford 1972b). Goldstein (1981) developed this approach, claiming that the emergence of bounded cemeteries reserved for the dead indicates the presence of uni-lineal descent groups monopolising access to some vital resource, often the land. Others followed suit, and it resulted in a volume in 1981 on *"The Archaeology of Death"* edited by Chapman and Randsborg. This volume set the agenda for burial archaeology for the next decade within the Anglo-American archaeological tradition. In general, graves were seen as a *reflection* of past society. Hodder (1980; 1982a) and others (cf. Parker Pearson 1982:101) challenged this approach by proposing from ethnoarchaeological studies that burials at most could be an indirect reflection of society, because burials consisted of a *rite de passage*, which was distorted by ideology. When the fiercest post-modern and mainly Marxist criticism of processualism (e.g., Shanks and Tilley 1987) had made its point, the approach towards burials, I think, developed in two constructive directions (Härke 1997b:21). The first was the symbolic and contextual approach, which assumed that human action was expressed in symbols, and that the patterning of symbols was expressed in the archaeological record (Hodder 1986). Material culture was seen as an analogy to language or text (Patrik 1985), in that both consisted of signs (signifiers) the meaning of which (the signified) only became clear in context. Thus, graves were seen as a symbolic language that needed decoding. A related approach draws on sociology, as advocated by A. Giddens' *structuration theory*. I shall return to these approaches below. Here, I shall emphasise a few examples, which, to me, appear to be the most constructive when attempting grave analysis. Pader (1982), who pursued a symbolic approach, made a substantial methodological point, although the results of her analyses of graves did not reveal a clear pattern. The rather primitive computer facilities available for her multivariate analyses, as well as her small sample may have been a major explanation for the lack of results. Richards' (1987) interesting analysis of form and decoration in relation to sexed skeletons in Anglo-Saxon society did reach some interesting conclusions, but here also limitations were imposed by the statistical computer packages then available. I will return to Richards in Chapter eight. Morris' analysis of Greek grave material (1987) was more successful. He implemented a multivariate cluster analysis. Among other things, he identified a major change at around 750 BC in Greece in the structure of funerary practices. He related this to the rise of the "polis ideology". From the examples above, it seemed that the way forward for cemetery analysis was the implementation of multidimensional analyses, firstly, because it included the multidimensional nature of cemetery material and, secondly, because computer facilities alone defined the limitations of a symbolic approach.

Within the European continental tradition of archaeology, German researchers developed similar quantitative attitudes to the analysis of burials, independently of the discussion within the New Archaeology above (Härke 1992a:30). Here, graves were assumed directly to reflect the status of the deceased. Also, it was assumed that graves reflected legal status. Thus, Veeck (1926) identified three male status groups of the Row-Grave (*Reihengräber*) cemeteries; those with swords were identified as free men, those with other weapons were semi-free, and the unfree were indicated by graves without weapons. This "legal" interpretation was later criticised within German scholarship, because it was a circular argument, imposing later medieval sources onto the prehistoric archaeological record. There were two reactions to this criticism, one returning to positivism, which focused on the function and chronology of the artefacts. A more positive reaction was an attempt to refine the method above, which was pursued by Christlein (1975) and Steuer (1982). I shall discuss the latter reaction shortly[1].

R. Christlein's trendsetting works from 1975 was the most influential on burial analysis. He developed a hierarchy of status categories (*Qualitätsgruppen*) from A to D, (Christlein 1975: 157) where D was the highest status, belonging to the richest in an economic sense. Thus, he argued that graves could not reflect legal status, but instead reflected economic status. Many followed the ideas of Christlein, and his categories are still widely recognised within the German archaeological tradition. One criticism of Christlein's approach is his use of symbols, which on a one-to-one basis, emphasised artefacts such as gold, silver and swords *per se*. Hence, less visible symbols and their *combinations* were ignored. His interpretations were still based on the assumption that graves were a "mirror of life".

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[1] For a discussion of the East German tradition see Härke 1991, Beran 1996, Jacobs 1996.

Steuer's (1982) rare synthesising approach recognised that there were other issues to consider concerning graves, but he did not pursue the consequences of this in full. He identified particular trends in cemeteries and settlements of the Migration period in Central and Northern Europe, interpreting them as revealing a pattern, which he developed into a model for the social aspects of society. This model claims that cemeteries in a Migration period context start out as a family cemetery, the oldest burial being the richest. Often, the graves have a group affiliation that may be interpreted as consisting of rich and poor, the warlord, his family and his warriors within the farm unit. As there are varying groups, which in relative terms are differentiated, he concluded that the farm units between them had varying importance. Also, he argued from the changing grave rites of cemeteries, as well as settlement patterns, that Germanic society was a society of substantial geographical as well as social mobility, at least until the codification of Carolingian laws. The 3rd to the 7th centuries in particular, experienced a development towards centralisation. He insisted that the presence or absence of weapons in graves was not direct evidence of the presence or absence of a warrior, as grave goods might also have reflected other aspects. Instead, we must look for the presence of artefacts holding a symbolic value, which may be associated with a special person. Following Christlein, Steuer does not discuss in detail how to assess such a value.

In conclusion, most of German scholarship saw graves as "mirrors of life" in past society. One exception is Gebühr (1970 and Gebühr and Kunow 1976; Härke 1997b), who used multivariate analysis and correlated grave-goods with skeletal, age and sex determinations of Roman Iron Age cremation cemeteries. I shall return to the results of this study later. With the exception of the latter, most German archaeology ignored ritual, symbolic and ideological aspects of past society. In many ways this attitude: that graves are a reflection of society is similar to the practice of the New Archaeology of the Anglo-American world. This approach makes it straightforward to approach past society, because it means that the more finds are found in a grave, the richer the person. In practice (e.g., Chapman et al 1981), processual archaeology and the general German approach were much alike.

A synthetic approach to burials

Härke's analysis of Anglo-Saxon weapon graves (1992a), recognising the development both in German as well as in Anglo-Saxon scholarship, was innovative, because he combined the traditional data-oriented continental approach with a newer theoretically-conscious attitude. In the history of burial analyses, he distinguished (Härke 1992a:23) between 1) a qualitative approach where, say, weapons are associated with categories of status, such as Christlein did and 2) a quantitative approach where status is determined by means of quantitative analysis in similar fashion to processual archaeology. 3) In the multidimensional approach, variables were combined in a less biased picture, such as Morris and Pader did. This was also Härke's approach. He distinguished between a) archaeological data, such as artefacts, b) technical data such as grave size etc., both being intentional data, and c) anthropological data, the latter being non-intentional data. Härke established a convincing argument suggesting that weapons functioned as symbols of power and ethnic affiliation in the 5th to 7th centuries AD in Anglo-Saxon England. I will return to this discussion in Chapter seven and eight.

A Scandinavian approach?

There is not a unified Scandinavian archaeology. Swedish and Norwegian archaeology have often been more theoretically-oriented than south Scandinavian Danish archaeology (Myhre 1991). The latter, which I shall focus upon here, has been influenced mainly by German scholarship before the 1960s (Ravn 1997a), and Anglo-American scholarship after the 1960s (Ravn 1993). The attitude towards burials has been a similar mixture. In the 1930s and 1940s the approach was to assess cultural provinces in an international perspective (Mackeprang 1943; Klindt-Jensen 1950), much like the German tradition, though without Nazi-manipulation of the discipline. In the 1950s, most of the emphasis was on cataloguing and writing reports of the enormous number of finds which followed the post-war industrial revolution, a trend that continued into the 1960s and 1970s (e.g., Albrectsen 1954; Ramskou 1976). This trend has been termed "puritan Danish positivism" (Jensen and Nielsen 1997:10), because it focused exclusively on the material culture. Apart from a few interesting initiatives which attempted social analysis of grave finds, such as O. Klindt-Jensen's analysis (1965) of the Lousgård cemetery on Bornholm and P. Kjærum's analysis of the megalith of Jordhøj (1970), it was via Sweden, and especially through the works of M. Malmer 1963, and his emphasis on methodology and statistics that the New Archaeology was channelled into Danish archaeology. This made a number of scholars pursue studies with a well-defined and articulate definition of the goal, with mainly a chronological emphasis (e.g., Jensen 1978). An emphasis on statistics following the quantitative approach of the processual archaeology can be exemplified by Randsborg (1973). Randsborg's collaboration with Chapman and Kinnes (Chapman et al.1981) pulled Danish archaeology in a new and interesting direction in the 1980s. Following this trend, Randsborg's student, L. Jørgensen (1988, 1990, 1992), applied more elaborate analyses of migration period graves on the Baltic island of Bornholm.

Jørgensen developed a point score system that he suggested reflected status categories of the past community, as also implicitly assumed in the German tradition, as well as in processual archaeology. The score system consisted of dividing an artefact by the number of graves where the artefact appeared. The results were seen as an indicator of status. This approach was later criticised because quantitative methods in general are sensitive to variable preservation rates. If a single artefact is missing, the picture may be biased. Explicit combination analyses were not undertaken in order to account for unique and symbolic aspects of graves, a fact that was mentioned by Sørensen (1979;1987)[2]. Her studies were some of the first to include a symbolic approach in grave analysis in Scandinavia.

Hedeager (1978; 1990) initially drew on the methodology of the New Archaeology while she developed her interpretations in a Neo-Marxist direction. Her empirical approach was, however, initially the same as that of Jørgensen. She counted the number of artefact types (NAT) in the graves as an indicator of wealth. Thus, rich graves were graves with the largest amount and variation of artefacts. As with Jørgensen, Hedeager's method is easily biased by preservational factors. She did attempt combination analysis mainly of weapon graves, thus establishing a relationship between her weapon group I and luxury goods (Hedeager 1990:118). In my view, the most convincing study, however, was J. Ringtved's analysis of Jutish graves in the late Roman and early Germanic Iron Age. Ringtved, employing a large body of data, looked at both chronology and multidimensional combinations of material culture in graves and houses (1988). She established a regional partition of Jutland into a Northern and a Southern group on the basis of different artefact combinations, which she suggested had symbolic content in terms of regional identity. I shall return to Ringtved's analyses in Chapter four.

Recently, the discussion of burial issues has been revived, which has resulted in a few major volumes (Iregren et al. 1988; Stjernquist 1994; Hansen 1995; Jensen and Nielsen 1997) on theory, method and practice. Here, scholars call for the use of multivariate analyses, as well as a theoretically-conscious approach, seeing burials as ritual and ideological remains. I shall return to the discussion of this issue below.

The conclusion of the historiography of all three traditions of archaeology can be summed up as follows: In order to understand burials better, it is necessary to account for multiple dimensions, as well as symbolic and ritual aspects. Thus, it is necessary to discuss the nature, theory, and method behind burials, as well as the understanding of social structure and ritual in more detail.

The nature of burial data

Burial data is fragmentary and incomplete, meaning that what is left in the archaeological record is only a part of the event (Härke 1997b:22). This means that we must expect that burials are not the end product, but part of an elaborate ritual which goes on before, and often also after, the burial itself. Moreover, burials are partial, because they form part of a religious world-view and practice. In the case of Christianity, this would be baptism and weddings etc., all events for which there is no direct evidence from burials. In order to assess as many aspects as possible in burials we must approach the full context over time. Burials are also conceptual, because they are part of a ritual that consists of symbolic action. I shall discuss this in some detail below. Moreover, what we find in the graves must be seen as *selected* by the relatives of the deceased, the mourners, unlike what we find in settlement evidence. I will discuss the implications of the above characteristics in some detail now.

When studying burials, one needs to assume that burial is an intentional action and thus meaningful. It seems reasonable to assume that burial is a part of a funeral, and funeral is part of a set of rituals. This hypothesis is based on elaborate research within sociology and anthropology, as well as archaeology, and seems to have stood the test of time over the last 100 years (Hertz 1960; Huntington et al 1979; Bloch et al. 1982; Morris 1992).

Intentional data, rituals and social structure.

Assuming that a funeral is part of a set of rituals, questions about social, economic and religious issues in grave material must be analysed as symbolic action (Morris 1992:1; Näsman 1994: 29). Another assumption, which is substantiated by social anthropology, is that people use rituals as symbols to make social structure explicit (Huntington et al. 1979).

The meaning of social structure has been discussed by a number of scholars. In the German tradition, Steuer (1982:20) sees social structure as a multidimensional entity consisting of, firstly, a vertical as well as, secondly, a horizontal plane. Third comes the permanence of these relations. Social structure comprise the way that people place themselves according to biological, racial, ethnic, religious, political, and economic relations. From this, it seems that Steuer sees social structure as a subjective entity. If this is true, it is not dissimilar to the distinction made by Morris between social structure and social organisation.

Social organisation is the "empirical distribution of relationships in everyday experience". Social structure, on the other hand, is here defined as "an ideal model, a mental template, of the relative placing of individuals in the world" (Morris 1987:39). Social structure is created in dialogue between the individual and society by means of symbols and rituals to which funerals also belong (Leach 1954:15ff). Following Hodder:" If the symbolic structures are produced in the social realm then there is likely to be a close tie to social structures. By the latter I mean organised relations of kin, gender, age set, class etc., which are themselves often integrally related to divisions and relations of production, reproduction and exchange." (Hodder 1990:13) It is evident that Hodder builds on Giddens' "*theory of structuration*". Giddens defines social structure as a set of assumptions, rules and resources, which can be renegotiated (Giddens 1985:17)[3]. These assumptions, rules, and resources tell us what we should say and do in given situations. Like language, behaviour is determined by learned social structure and only transmitted through time and space by people when they repeat or react against it. Social structure may be defined the same way as Geertz defines culture: "Though ideational, it does not exist in someone's head; though unphysical , it is not an occult entity....the question as to whether culture is patterned conduct or frame of mind, or even the two somehow mixed together, loses sense" (Geertz 1973:10). In other words, in order to understand social structure, we must work within the "field of structuration", between the levels of social organisation and social structure, approaching it through the material symbols, which are patterns of social practice. In the present case, this implies that besides looking at burials which are biased by ideology, one needs to include other differently-biased find categories (e.g., skeletal evidence), as well as (where present) literary sources, in order better to test the hypotheses developed from burials. But first, we need to understand the nature of ritual.

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[2] Holten developed this point score system, and though it is valid to some extent it cannot be seen as multivariate combination analyses as such (Holten 1989 and Hansen 1995:374ff).

Ritual

Ritual involves repeatable action and is governed by rules concerning who should do what. But ritual and custom are not identical, though all activity may be said to have ritual aspects. Although there are overlaps, there seems to be a central field where everyone intuitively feels the presence of ritual. Ritual says something even if not all participants understand it the same way (Sperber 1975:140). Ritual action is not a code, but it produces its own kind of symbolic knowledge. Social structure, since it is a set of internalised but constantly renegotiated roles and rules, is an artefact of this knowledge (Morris 1992:9).

In 1909, Van Gennep (1960) drew attention to an overall pattern of rituals, which is described as a three-stage pattern of a rite of passage (fig 2.1b). When a person dies, the first stage, "the rite of separation", is a ceremony that moves the individuals concerned out of their normal condition of life into the second stage, a liminal status called "rite of marginality". In burials, the survivors take on the role of mourners, while the dead move from the animate stage to the stage of the corpse; and the soul is liberated from the body. The survivors often reverse their behaviour, but the details of mourning, dressing, and range of rites of marginality varies in place and time. The "rite of aggregation" is the final stage where the deceased is laid to rest, and the survivors resume their normal way of life. I shall return to the discussion of the value of Van Gennep's approach below.

Hertz (1960) added another dimension to the analysis of rituals by identifying three dramatic levels, the relations between the corpse, the soul and the survivors (fig 2.1a). These levels perform different functions for the three pairs of actors involved. According to Hertz, death is seen as a serious threat to society, because the corpse, soul and survivors are left in different relationships from those before death occurred. In order to retain stability between the corpse, the soul, and the survivors, they all undergo a rite of passage, to assess their new social status. The remains of this multidimensional rite de passage are what we excavate.

The first dimension is the relation between the dead and the survivors. One result of the ceremonies is the affirmation of the social order as also expressed by Radcliffe-Brown (1922:234). This functionalist view is sometimes criticised with the suggestion that the ceremony was not so much a way of reinforcing social norms as much as controlling expression of forces which may upset the social system from within (Goody 1962:35; Bloch 1977: 286ff). Huntington and Metcalf expressed this in terms of the pyramids of the ancient Egyptians (1979:152): "As the pharaohs built the pyramids, so did the pyramids build Pharaonic civilisation". If this is so, we must expect that something of the social structure must be captured in the funerary process and enter the archaeological record.

The second dimension identified by Hertz is the separation of the soul from the body, usually just after death, leading to a process whereby the soul is integrated into the world of the ancestors or heaven. Hertz (1960:83) suggested that there is a close interrelationship between the state of the body and the state of the soul. When the body reaches a stable physical condition, either through rotting or cremation, the soul becomes a full member of the world beyond. At this level, we may learn more about the religious practices of the relatives of the dead.

The third dimension in which the funeral operates is in the relationship between the soul and the survivors. The funeral must also mark the separation between soul and body, and the separation of the soul's ties with the living, because they may be polluted. Here also the reaffirmation of the social structure of society is of great importance.

Hertz' and Van Gennep's arguments seem useful, but whether they are universal is an issue which the historian Philippe Ariés' (1974; 1981) diachronic analysis of *"attitudes towards death"* may qualify. He identified five different attitudes towards death in Europe over the last millennium. The one we are concerned with here is what he calls the *"tame death"*. Here death is treated with familiarity and is accepted as natural (1981:29).

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[3] For a criticism of Giddens please see Thompson 1984.

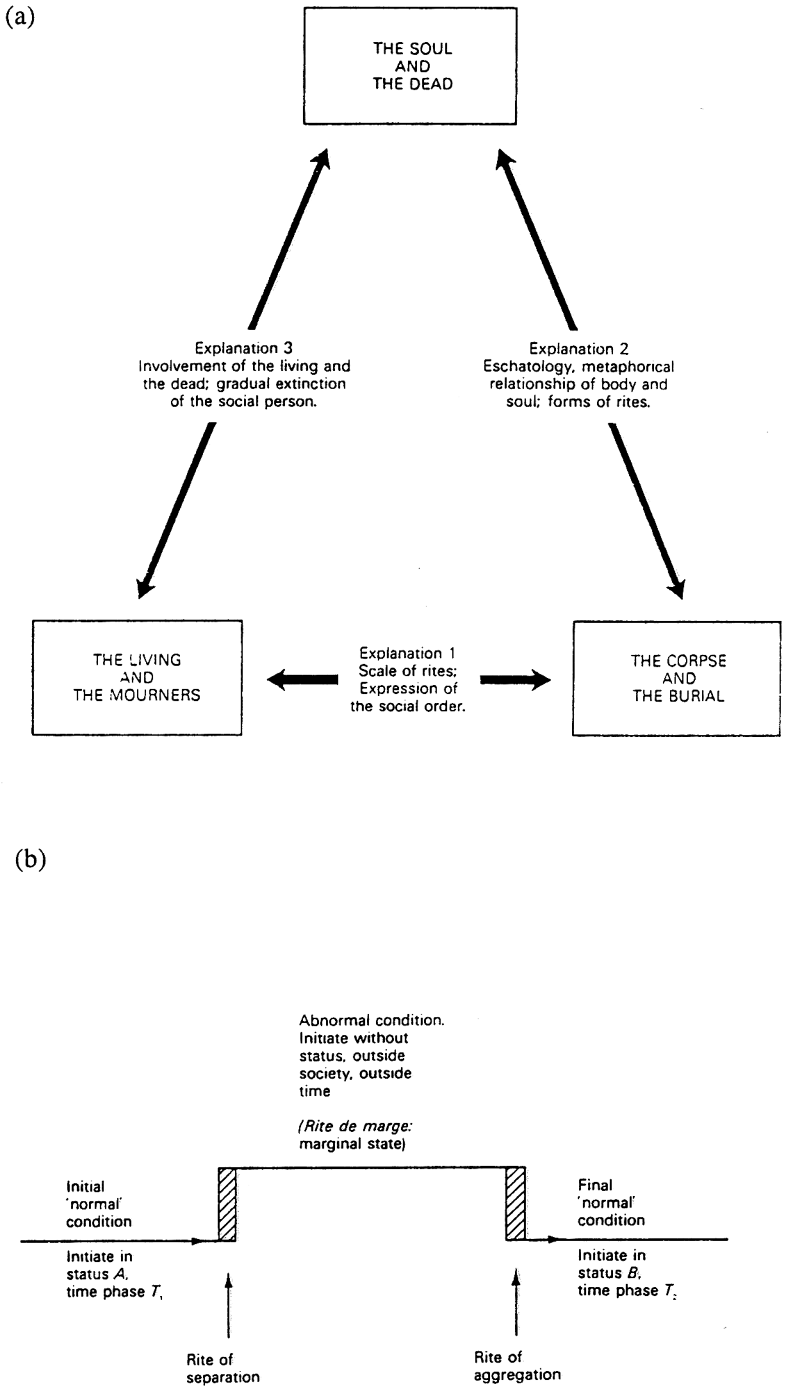
(a)
THE SOUL AND THE DEAD
Explanation 3
Involvement of the living and the dead; gradual extinction of the social person.
Explanation 2
Eschatology, metaphorical relationship of body and soul; forms of rites.
THE LIVING AND THE MOURNERS
Explanation 1
Scale of rites; Expression of the social order.
THE CORPSE AND THE BURIAL
(b)
Abnormal condition. Initiate without status, outside society, outside time
(Rite de marge: marginal state)
Initial 'normal' condition
Initiate in status A, time phase T,
Final 'normal' condition
Initiate in status B, time phase T:
Rite of separation
Rite of aggregation

Fig 2.1. Hertz's model of the relationships between the partcipants in funarary rituals (From Huntingdon and Methcalf 1979, fig 2). (b) The tripartite structure of the rite de passage (from Leach 1976, fig 7).

The relevance of Van Gennep's, Hertz's and Ariés' models

Whether Ariés is right or wrong in his typology, it must be emphasised that it appears that most societies outside western influence share the attitude towards death, which he calls "tame death". Van Gennep and Hertz also described this kind of death. If this is an accurate model set up by Van Gennep and Hertz, though not universal, archaeologists working within the tradition of "tame death" may implement it, as long as the archaeological sources do not contradict the hypothesis. In fact, recent anthropological analyses have refined, not rejected Hertz's analyses. Bloch expresses it thus:

"Most generally, therefore, funerary practices are central ideological practices in that they are based on the type of three-stage argument which characterises ideology: 1) they take over certain pre-cultural biological and psychological phenomena in order to *re*present them, in this case death, sorrow, pollution; 2) This *representation* then incorporates these phenomena so that they appear homogenous with legitimate authority, the main manifestation of which is fertility; 3) authority is verified by appearing natural because on the one hand it incorporates the evident processes of biology and on the other it corresponds to deeply felt emotions. Ideology feeds on the horror of death by first emphasising it then replacing it by itself" (1982:227).

As discussed in Chapter one, accounts of death and funerals in Beowulf (vv. 1110-1127 & 3114-3182) suggest a familiar and natural attitude towards death. This suggests that "tame death" is also relevant in pre-Christian Northern Europe. The value of Beowulf and other written evidence as analogy has been discussed above in Chapter one [4]. Of course, even though the analogy seems strong, it is still the archaeological evidence that has to confirm or reject whether the above discussion from sociology, anthropology and history is reliable. I shall return to this issue in the following chapters of the book. First we have to look at the nature of the source material behind rituals and burials.

Inferences to ritual

Morris (1992:10) has outlined a number of sources from which we may understand aspects of ritual:

- Direct observation of or participation in the rituals
- Verbal testimony, oral or written, describing or explaining the rituals
- Artistic representations of the rituals
- The material remains of rituals.

The ranking is not a straightforward qualification of the value of sources since different sources are different "windows" into rituals. The first and second of the above source material are undoubtedly the most informative, but also the least available to prehistoric or proto-historic archaeology. Another problem is that these sources often describe only single situations fixed in space and time, and may be biased by the informer's motives. The third class of evidence shares the problems with the previous class. Additionally, often the evidence cannot be placed in a safe context within time and space. The fourth type of evidence, the material remains of rituals, lets us reconstruct the variability of symbols in concrete actions over time and space. Although it is not "better" than the other classes of evidence, in terms of quantity there is a large amount of it, which can be put into a sequence of time and into a large spatial area. Additionally, more evidence can be found, so new patterns may be revealed. One of the drawbacks is that it is only part of the ritual, and perhaps the least important part. But as Pader expresses it: "As burial is indeed an integral part of the ritual, and therefore consists of largely non-random behaviour which makes sense in terms of what came before and what comes afterwards, it is a viable unit of study" (1982:42)

In sum, it is reasonable to claim that patterns of burials on equal terms with other classes of evidence may augment the understanding of rituals in the past.

In this book, however, the first and third type of evidence is not available, whereas the second is present only in an indirect way, serving as analogy. So what we are left with is an abundance of material remains, mainly graves, which is why the analytical focus will lie here. The major problem with ritual is that it is open for interpretation. The way of distinguishing between social, ideological and religious explanations of ritual is not straightforward, because one may argue that ideological and religious explanation is intertwined (Morris 1992:16). As a matter of fact, one may argue that eschatological aspects of religion are a Jewish-Christian invention not fitting well into the understanding of less codified forms of religion. Indeed, many anthropologists see religion as ideology. Geertz defines it as:

> ...a system of symbols which acts to establish powerful, pervasive, and long-lasting moods and motivations in men by formulating conceptions of a general order of existence and clothing these conceptions with such an aura of factuality that the moods and motivations seem uniquely realistic. (Geertz 1973:90)

Others have defined religion as "communication with the other world" (Schjødt 1993). In both definitions burials may be interpreted as a part of a communication with this and/ or the other world, though the specific historical and archaeological context of symbols identified in the graves. Thus, we need to understand in more detail what is meant by symbols.

Symbols

Hodder has defined symbols most explicitly as: "the secondary connotations evoked by the primary associations and uses of an object or word. These "secondary meanings" refer to abstract and general concepts which tend to be organised into oppositional structures" (Hodder 1990:13). I shall follow this definition and only mention that there are disagreements. As to the disagreement about symbols and symbolic meaning in material culture, it is sufficient here to emphasise that it lies in two different ways of understanding the archaeological record, one group seeing it as a fossil record of palimpsests, the other as non-random shared set of intentional meanings, analogous to language or text (Patrik 1985; Hodder 1982a 1982b Hodder 1986:125, Miller 1987)[5]. In both cases, the way to decipher patterns in the archaeological record is to look at temporal and spatial aspects in context with the depositional and typological unit. Hodder (1986) has proposed that it is the interrelationships of similarities and differences between these four entities, seen in an ideational context, that provides a better understanding of the meaning of the archaeological record. In this book I support a "contextual archaeology", where "context" is defined as "the totality of the relevant environment" and where "relevant" refers to a significant relationship to the object (Hodder 1986:143). Significance will be assessed by statistical analyses, to which I shall return below. The "environment", or scope, needs to be defined in some detail. There seems to be four levels of *"relevant environment"* when we discuss symbolism in relation to graves. The first and largest is the location and landscape context (Lucy 1995; Huggett 1996). The second is grave form and monument. The third are grave goods and skeletons, and, lastly, their relation to decoration of artefacts in the grave. My approach here will be to analyse the interrelationship between grave form, monument, grave goods, decoration and their skeletal evidence. The landscape context is not included in this study in great detail, because the relatively few cemeteries here makes it difficult to generalise about a landscape context. My assumption is like Richards' (1987:27) that if an attribute is unintentional it will be randomly distributed throughout the artefacts and will not correlate with other attributes.

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[4] See also Hills 1997.

[5] The difference between this approach and a cognitive processual approach (Renfrew 1994; Flannery and Marcus 1996:360) may be one

It may be concluded from the above discussion that burials are a meaningful category, which in many respects may be compared to texts. A way to identify symbols in burials is thus to localise significant patterns and groups in the burials by opening up a *"dialogue with the dead"* along the typological, temporal, as well as depositional and spatial, line. The approach outlined above is the one I intend to follow in the data chapters. It is now possible to proceed to a discussion of the method with which I am going to identify significant patterns in burials.

Specific methodological approach

My methodological approach is twofold. Firstly, I intend to analyse the graves in a traditional (two-dimensional) statistical analysis. Secondly, in order to pursue qualitative symbolic aspects, I shall test these analyses by applying exploratory multivariate data analysis of the specific type called Correspondence Analysis.

Exploratory Multivariate Analysis (EMA), not to be confused with confirmatory data analysis, mistakenly named Exploratory Data Analysis (EDA), refers to: "techniques that usually do not postulate an underlying model for the data and often have the, ..., aim of reducing data to a form which may be used to inspect the data for archaeologically useful structure ..in a compact form such as a two-dimensional plot" (Baxter 1994:1). Thus, EMA can be seen as an inductive method[6].

The Correspondence Analysis is part of a number of EMAs. The reason for choosing the Correspondence Analysis[7] is that it holds the potential of "revealing "invisible" and qualitative patterns by relating more than two variables and units in a large body of material" (Madsen 1988:12). About Principal Component Analysis and Correspondence Analysis, which in many ways are the same (Baxter 1994:100), Scollar et al (1996) in their online manual say about the method:

"If you visualise some simple data as a cloud of points lying in a plane, you can also imagine putting a pair of axes (X and Y) on the cloud and moving it so that the centre of the axes lies at the centre of gravity of the cloud, and rotating it so that the X axis aligns with the greatest dimension of the cloud. It is readily possible to imagine this process for a three-dimensional cloud, but rather more difficult to think of such matters in higher dimensions. In Principal Components Analysis, what is done is more or less exactly as just described. In Correspondence Analysis, the points in the clouds which correspond to units or types are given weights or counts which 'attract' the axes to a greater or lesser degree". (Scollar et al. 1996 online manual for Winbasp 5.2)

In opposition to earlier developed cluster analyses, the Correspondence Analysis does not force the material into certain expected structures, because it also accounts for small amounts of material. The basic element of the Correspondence Analysis is that it reveals the structural relationship between units/variables on the basis of their average similarity (Jensen and Nielsen 1997).

The results thus depend on the variables chosen for analysis. If the researcher intuitively feels that a certain combination or ornamentation holds a potential in either chronological or social contexts, it is necessary to define the variable accordingly. If s/he is right, a pattern occurs. If not, there is no structure, and a new variable or definition must be experimented with. To avoid circularity, Baxter emphasises that omission or inclusion of variables should be justified by archaeological reasoning and not on the basis of "nice" results (1994:123). As mentioned above, the Correspondence Analysis must be seen as an *experimental multivariate data analysis,* as a way of handling a large body of material by tuning in on the structures hidden in the material. Thus, the limitations of the method are our interpretation of the Correspondence Analysis, because

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of scale (Hodder and Preucel 1996:312).

[6] That Madsen (1990:333 & Baxter 1994:220)) call multivariate analysis a deductive *technique* must be due to the fact that they distinguish between statistics which infer an underlying model and statistics which do not, the former being EDA analyses, the latter being EMA analyses. The subjective selection of variables is the reason why I maintain that the *research method* is inductive.

[7] I shall avoid the mathematical discussion of the CA since the discussion today is not so much on the justification and correctness of such an analysis, as much as of our interpretation of it. A fine survey is Shennan 1988 and Baxter 1994. More specific cases and discussions are found in Wilkinson 1971 & 1974; Madsen 1988, Kendall 1971a; 1971b. Scollar 1974, 1985, Scollar et al 1985.

we choose the variables for analysis. But if our choices "work" our working hypothesis is substantiated.

Multivariate methods for multidimensional data

Archaeologists are concerned with non-random significant relationships, and especially how we assess significance. Many statistical methods have been implemented and various criticisms have been put forward against a "blind" quantitative approach in archaeology (e.g., Shanks and Tilley 1987). I suggest that multivariate analyses may link the theories of a theoretical interpretive archaeology and the data of a descriptive archaeology, where more than two variables are considered at once. The Correspondence Analysis, I propose, holds the potential for fulfilling the aims of a contextual archaeology, because it includes more contexts at once. Madsen exemplifies the potential of the multivariate method:

"If you measure the IQ of all children in a school, and at the same time note their shoe numbers, then you are going to find a high degree of correlation between IQ and shoe numbers. The correlation is real enough, but it has no explanatory value. It is the third value, age, which correlates with both IQ and shoe number, and binds together in logical dependence". (Madsen 1990:331).

One could argue that there is not really a straightforward relationship between age and IQ either, because young persons may be more intelligent than older ones. Madsen makes, however, a point of illustrating that logical dependencies can be hard to trace, when studying correlations in archaeological data, as many examples from the early New Archaeology revealed. The point is that there are many levels or dimensions of understanding, which have to be read and interpreted. In other words, a multivariate analysis is contextual because it synthesises a number of variables. Relevant variables, however, have to be distinguished from the irrelevant, as when one "reads" the material culture.

Still, it is a matter of interpretation what variables we choose as being relevant and what these choices mean, because more factors may influence the pattern in a Correspondence Analysis. To trace meaning within general structures, one needs to develop relational models[8]. This is why there is not a one to one relationship between texts and material culture. I argue, however, that the Correspondence Analysis still at *general level* may assess a structure, which is unique for the material culture. Until a more user-friendly software program of relational models has been developed and tested, the deeper relationship between texts and material culture remains unsolved. Until then I contend that the Correspondence Analysis is the best method for cemetery analysis. Possibly, as Baxter (1992) and Orton (1992) suggest, the need for three-dimensional matrices could also be the way forward to even better Correspondence Analyses.

The Correspondence Analysis reveals the general underlying structures, by some called the "grammar" (Richards 1987), behind the material culture. In material culture, such a structure may often be influenced by chronological factors, because the continuing habitation on many archaeological sites makes our sample a palimpsest. But if a temporal division can be identified and controlled, as it often can with a Correspondence Analysis, alternative structures in material may be explained as symbolic indicators of social structure. Thus, the Correspondence Analysis may help in assessing significant messages about time, gender and status. Following Hodder: " ..the subjective internal meanings which archaeologists can infer are not "ideas in peoples' heads" , in the sense that they are not the conscious thoughts of individuals. Rather they are public and social concepts which are reproduced in practices of daily life" (Hodder 1986:127-128). Having discussed the potential of the Correspondence Analysis, I shall turn to the application of it below.

Application of the Correspondence Analysis

When applying a Correspondence Analysis in most cases the Bonn Archaeological Statistics Package (WINBASP 5.2 ®) has been implemented. For the data matrices, a program called KVARK (KVantitativ ARKæologi) has been developed as a freeware by Dr. Torsten Madsen (1988). In KVARK, one can easily export and import data from EXCEL® data sheets. So, its limitation is only that it handles a lesser amount of material. WINBASP 5.2 is otherwise used. Though WINBASP 5.2 has become a relatively advanced statistical package, there are still serious shortcomings when working with groupings[9]. One major shortcoming is that it is not possible to sort the 2nd axis of a scattergram, a problem that is inconvenient when searching for social groupings, when working with the matrix. It matters less when working with chronological seriations. Additionally, to my knowledge, it is impossible to export co-ordinates from WINBASP, meaning that one cannot sort the second axis manually in EXCEL as is possible when using KVARK. KVARK only contains ca 10.000 incidences. This is the reason why a similar kind of sorted matrices, as presented with the smaller cemeteries, cannot be used, at Spong Hill. This problem has been presented to Scollar, though remains to be amended in a later version. As the algorithm in both packages is similar, the results are, however, compatible.

In general, the Correspondence Analysis program is constructed so that when a seriation is present and the principle of continuity, as defined by Malmer (1963, see also Madsen 1988), is present, a parabola appears. Alternatively, clusters appear in the scattergram. In both cases, the patterns reflect the average relation of similarity between combinations of material. Although a seriation is present, it may not necessarily reflect a true *chronological* seriation. The analysis may as well reflect a seriation in space or another pattern unknown to us. For instance, with the Barrington project in the UK (Nielsen 1997b) there have been cases where a nice seriation of Anglo-Saxon material displayed early types at both ends and late types in the middle of the parabola. Naturally, in an ideal seriation in time, the early artefacts need to be at one end, and the later at the other, of the parabola. A look at the material culture revealed that it was a seriation in "social space", not in time.

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[8] For a possible better method still on the drawing board see Dallas 1992a & 1992b).

[9] The idea behind the package was developed at Cambridge University by E.M. Wilkinson in 1974 and developed further by Scollar (see also the WINBASP 5.2 online theory chapters)

In other words, one can always test one's hypotheses and results from the Correspondence Analysis by having a look at the material culture, which, of course, it is essential to know. The method is to return to the material to adjust one's variables and sample and eliminate "noise" from variables that are not significant to the problem in question. Bearing the above reservations in mind, the Correspondence Analysis is a very useful tool when handling a large amount of material in a process of analysis, experimentation, and interpretation. As is evident from the discussion above the Correspondence Analysis falls under the definition of a *"Middle Range Theory"* (Binford 1983; Renfrew and Bahn 1991:10).

In this case, the Correspondence Analysis has been chosen as a means to understand social and symbolic tendencies in grave material. Here it is not seriation as much as groups of combinations of material that is sought. The place and distance of each group in relation to the others in the scattergram reflects a relation between different graves (units) and variables (types). If a certain group of artefacts are placed together in the scattergram, it reflects that these combinations of artefacts concur frequently. If, for example a type of pot constantly appears together with a certain type of sword, theoretically it should appear on top of each other in the scattergram, and vice versa. A "true" cluster of artefacts has to lie at some distance from the other and an ideal cluster-division falls around 0.0. In other words, it may be possible to define groups and combinations of material culture, which hold social and symbolic significance. A way to substantiate the social significance of certain groups of material is to look at the chorological distribution of certain material groups. If the graves divide accordingly, much is to be said for a particular social grouping. But one has to exhaust other possible explanations, such as, chronological, ethnic or regional explanations. One cannot always expect chorological clusters which are similar to the clusters in the scattergram, since people may have had other internal divisions, say, a family, within which they grouped themselves, even though, at another level, they had another division.

Recording finds and graves

The Correspondence Analysis implements non-numerical values and is based on either abundance or presence/absence matrices. This is useful when working with grave material, because a number cannot value artefact types in a logical way, which reflects their internal value. So when working with graves it is useful to construct a matrix that relies on the presence/absence of variables. This type of recording makes it possible to compare the combination of incidences of variables in the units. The program EXCEL 7.0 for Windows ® is ideal for such an analysis. Presence is here recorded as a 1 and absence is 0. In general it is also necessary to record as many variables as one suspects have relevance to the problems pursued. An example is the different orientation of graves as well as types and places of artefacts in relation to aged and sexed skeletons. Only later will analyses assess whether the variables recorded are relevant. The assessment of sex and age is important, and, if skeletal material is analysed together with artefacts in the same analysis, their internal relation will reflect both the average genders and how they correspond to the biological material. Only, one has to separate the biological information of sex in the analysis from the gendered information in the grave material in order to avoid a circularity. At some of the cemeteries skeletons are absent. At such cemeteries it is only possible to distinguish children's graves, defined as being below 1.40 m, or as the excavator defined them. Gender is here assessed by use of combination analyses and by comparing with other cemeteries where skeletons are present. Naturally, in such cases there is always room for uncertainty.

Problems of representativity

In a matrix there can be more than 100 variables in an analysis. Also the material is at times such that it is not significant to the questions. This is often due to bad preservational factors, or, as in cases of southeastern Europe, because the data is not well recorded. The amount of work that such a kind of registration requires delimits the size of the sample, and raises a serious question of representativity. In the case of Denmark and England the problem has been confronted by referring to and comparing with results and works completed by others, allowing me to refer to the general conclusions achieved on the basis of a large data base (Hansen 1995; Ringtved 1988; Härke 1992a; Brush 1993). In the case of southeastern Europe it is a reservation that we have to bear in mind when the analyses are carried out.

Concluding remarks

In sum, it seems that the Correspondence Analysis is a very good method for revealing structures from raw data, be it social, chronological, or symbolic in a general way in a data material. Since it is a multivariate analysis, it also confronts the problem of multidimensionality which historiography has showed us was a recurring issue in burial analysis. With a theoretical approach that takes into account the relationship between intentional and functional data in graves, and the symbolic meaning of ritual in funerals, I believe that Correspondence Analysis is the method, which at present may most likely help us to reveal and understand qualitative aspects of past society. As mentioned above, naturally, we need to include other find categories in our final interpretation in order to account for biases.

Chapter Three

South Scandinavian and Central European archaeology

> Bristen på debatt leder oundvikligen till en auktoritetstro, som är det svåraste hindret för en objektivt arbetande vetenskap.
> (M. Malmer 1963: 10)

Introduction

In the following I shall give an outline of the archaeology of the Iron Age of South Scandinavia and central Europe with an emphasis on present Denmark[2]. This starts with a historiographic discussion of the priorities, which have been predominant in the discipline. It proceeds with an outline of the facts and recent interpretations and syntheses proposed from the facts. It ends up with a larger synthesis of the development of Iron Age/Early Medieval society at a larger scale in Denmark. In Chapter four I shall focus on the smaller scale of Iron Age society.

Historiography of Iron Age studies in south Scandinavia

An account of early Scandinavian archaeological tradition necessarily starts with a discussion of chronology, because the most substantial research initiated by C.J. Thomsen in the 1840s has lain there (Jensen 1992). This work has two emphases. The first is the heterogeneous nature of the archaeological record (Hedeager 1992:6). Thus, the source material has dictated a focus on either a specific find category, or a certain part or region of prehistory, making understanding very particularistic. Secondly, a positivist academic environment from the 1870s and onwards (Ravn 1997a) has led most scholars to emphasise analysis. This focus became dominant within the German archaeological tradition - a tradition with which Scandinavian archaeology has interacted intensively. Additionally, from the early start, small-scale excavation methods led archaeologists to focus on hoards or graves (Hedeager 1985). This is especially true for the study of the Iron Age, which will be the focus here. As may be evident, the "Iron Age" in southern Scandinavia has been understood as the time period between 500 BC to AD ca 1050. Anything after that is called the Middle Ages which in Scandinavia is defined rather arbitrarily with the advent of literary sources and Christianity. As will be demonstrated below, this division is unfortunate because many aspects fully developed in the Viking Age and Medieval period are to be found in the preceding Iron Age. As research stands now, the origin of kingdoms[3] is to be found as early as the early 8th century, maybe earlier (Näsman 1991b).

Inventing the Iron Age

J.J.A. Worsaae (1866:313-327), who identified deposits in wet areas as offerings, pursued the focus on hoards most explicitly. This argument, in spite of many discussions and some refinement, has stood the test of time. S. Müller most notably pursued the focus on graves in 1874[4]. By analysis of closed find combinations, he developed the basis for a relative Iron Age chronology, which was later to be completed in his thesis in 1897[5]. Additionally, on the basis of typological studies and studies of combinations of types in closed finds, O. Montelius (1895-97) established a broad chronological framework for the phasing of the Iron Age by comparison of similar types in both Germanic and provincial Roman material. Thus, with the help of literary sources and coins, he established an absolute chronology which has never been challenged, only refined (Hedeager 1992:12-13) by H.J. Eggers (1955), Salin (1904), Ørsnes (1966 & 1969) and more recently by Godlowski (1970), Nielsen (1987), Hansen (1988), Jørgensen et al. 1997. Hence, the eight major periods established by Müller and Montelius as the Early pre-Roman Iron Age (EpRIA) from ca. 500-300 BC, Late pre-Roman Iron Age (LpRIA) ca. 300-50 BC, the Early Roman Iron Age (ERIA), ca. AD -200, the Late Roman Iron Age (LRIA) ca. AD 200-400, the Early Germanic Iron Age (EGIA), ca. AD 400-600, the Late Germanic Iron Age (LGIA) ca. AD 600-800 and the Viking Age (VIK) ca. AD 800-1050 can now be subdivided into more than 20 phases, more or less well-defined (Hansen 1993:169).

As may be evident, a major emphasis has been put on

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[1] "The lack of debate leads invariably to a belief in authority which is the hardest obstacle for an objectively working scientific discipline" (my translation).

[2] South Scandinavia is here defined as Näsman does (1991b:166) as being present Denmark including Bornholm, Halland, Scania and Blekinge in present southern Sweden, as well as present Schleswig in Northern Germany. Common to most of this region is the dominance of lowlands and plains good for agriculture with bogs, marshes, moors, lakes and woods. This definition includes, as with the geographical unity, a common cultural unity, though not in a national, political nor ethnic sense.

[3] Kingdom is here defined as Näsman (1991b:323). Here the emphasis is put more on kings' ability to govern people than territory, the latter being a part of the definition of a state in a national sense. In fact many historians refrain from using the term "state" before the 18th century for the same reason (Fenger 1991:289). Thus, the medieval state may be a retrospective phenomenon of the 19th and 20th century.

[4] "A relative dating of finds of the earlier Iron Age chronology in Denmark" (translated by Hines in Hedeager 1992).

[5] For a discussion of Müller see Sørensen in press; Ravn 1993.

establishing a fine chronology of the Iron Age. But as Hedeager points out (1992:8) one general problem within Scandinavian chronological studies, as in Scandinavian archaeology in general (Ravn 1993), has been the lack of methodological and theoretical discussion between the turn of the century and the 1960s. Inspired by Gardin (1980), Näsman (1991b: 322) has set up a model for the trajectory of Scandinavian archaeology. Here, it is evident that the discipline has moved between systematising and synthethising, the former being most obvious with Müller, Montelius and, more recently, Hansen (1987), the latter seen most eloquently with Lindquist (1935), Brøndsted (1960), Jensen (1982) and Ramqvist (1991). A major setback in the synthetic view appeared during and after the Nazi occupation in the 1940s - an occupation which also seized the understanding of the past, casting long shadows into the following decades. This led to an introverted methodologically-oriented approach during the 1950s and 1960s, similar to German archaeology, with an emphasis on chronology and chorology.

Theoretical awakening

Within chronological studies, the problem of the relationship between typological variance and chronological development was not really identified before Almgren (1955). Most explicitly, it was expressed in Malmer's publication in 1963[6]. Here, Malmer identified the need for clear definitions in typology. Additionally, the "principles of continuity" for a) types b) in find combinations c) and in space were defined as important in the understanding of relative chronological developments (1963:27ff). Thus, he concluded: "From a random variation no conclusions can be drawn, but a non-random variation implies a pattern of some sort presumably in time or space or most likely both (1963:27; my translation). This assumption is emphasised here because it became essential for understanding the principles of Correspondence Analysis as discussed in Chapter two. Today one could add that a non-random pattern is as likely to reflect social or ethnic or other symbolic variation, as well as variation in time and space.

An additional problem in Iron Age studies has been the biased find situation determining the chronologies. Thus, chronologies relied upon a certain find type in a specific period, which was not easily compatible with the chronology established on the basis of another material in another phase. In general, chronology of the pRIA and RIA is mainly established upon grave finds, whereas the chronology of the GIA is established on the basis of metal finds. During the last three decades, an effort has been made to establish chronologies, which can be connected to other find categories, notably grave and settlement pottery and larger chronological frameworks in Northern Europe (Jensen 1976; 1978; Hansen 1987; 1995; Liversage 1980; Ringtved 1988). Still, moving from one phase to another, one is confronted with the problem of comparing incompatibles. This has made some (Hedeager 1990 & 1992) rely on the coarse chronology of Montelius and Müller, thereby losing detailed knowledge of the process of change. Others have pointed out that the next step in chronology should rather be to integrate regional chronologies and to make problem-oriented chronologies (Hines et al. 1999) in order to identify this detailed development.

Representativity

Representativity is another major problem encountered in the Iron Age of southern Scandinavia. This problem has been addressed in a major study edited by K. Kristiansen (1985). In the Iron Age, as in the Stone and Bronze Age, there are three categories of finds, being a:) graves b) finds from bogs and fields, called hoards and c) settlements. Here, analyses of the recovery of finds over the last 150 years made it obvious that, in spite of intensive agriculture and major industrialisation, the number of new discoveries of graves of the pRIA (Hedeager 1992:16), and RIA (Hedeager 1985), and hoards of the GIA (Fonnesbech-Sandberg 1985) peaked before and around the turn of the 20th century (Hedeager 1992:17). This pattern suggests that, although new graves and deposits may turn up, they will not change the find picture significantly, our present sample thus being representative. This is, however, not the case when studying GIA graves in Denmark and pRIA graves in Eastern Denmark, as they are almost absent. (Liversage 1980:10). Additionally, over all periods, studies by Hvass (1985a) suggest that the sample of settlements is not representative. I shall return to this issue under the discussion of settlements.

As mentioned under the discussion of chronology, certain periods are less represented than others, as is the case with the 7th century AD in Denmark. Here Näsman (1991a: 166), adding various categories of finds, suggests nevertheless that the 7th century cannot be understood as a time of decline. This is so, firstly, because recent settlement excavations from Vorbasse and Nr. Snede (Hansen et al. 1991) and detector finds in general over the entire country (Vang Petersen 1991) as well as analyses of style (Nielsen 1991) suggest a continuity, centralisation and decreasing regionalisation. Secondly, both the time before and after suggests a centralisation of power, leaving no place for a period of decline. I shall return to that issue under the discussion of the GIA. It is sufficient to emphasise here that the lack of graves in the GIA should be explained in another way.

New approaches to Iron Age archaeology

As mentioned above, studies between Müller's "Vor Oldtid" (1897) and J. Brøndsted's major volumes "Danmarks Oldtid" (1960 and 1963) concentrated on a particular region or time period, making Iron Age studies very fragmentary. During the 1970s, it is impossible to talk of a unified Scandinavian archaeological theoretical tradition because some adopted new theoretical impulses mainly from the Anglo-American world, whilst others stuck to a traditional empirically-oriented archaeology. In Scandinavia, there are examples of neo-evolutionism (Jensen 1979 & 1982), New Archaeology with an emphasis on an ecological-economic perspective (Randsborg 1980), as well as Neo-Marxism (Kristiansen 1984, Hedeager 1978; Myhre 1978). This development continued into the 1980s with the advent of post-processualism - a trend that did not meet much opposition in Scandinavia, because of a less antagonistic attitude towards subjectivism and symbolism (Myhre 1987; Näsman 1991b: 323). In Denmark there is, however, a tendency towards a more traditional conservative source-critical position among the permanent, and often older, male staff, than among the free-lance, often younger, female staff - a phenomenon for which explanation lies beyond the scope of this book. How this latent conflict is dealt with in the future really holds the key to the future development of Danish archaeology. In general, however, it is possible to conclude:

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[6] "Methodological problems in the history of art during the Scandinavian Iron Age" (1963:248-272).

"In Scandinavian archaeology where both the German and the Anglo-Saxon traditions are strong, it should be possible to reach a synthesis based on the best of both. Perhaps in this way we can regain some of the territory we have lost since the Second World War" (Näsman 1991b: 229).

I agree with this point of view. The important question is, however, whether that possibility will be pursued and whether and how the new generation of Scandinavian archaeologists are allowed to regain the lost territory when relatively few permanent positions and institutions[7] delimit career opportunities and thus the heterogeneity that is required in a scientific environment.

Recent major contributions in Iron Age studies

In my view, a less particularist view in Iron Age studies was M. Parker Pearson's (1984) study of Iron Age societies. Inspired by the post-processual archaeology and Hedeager, Kristiansen and Randsborg, he completed a long-term, holistic approach on the Iron Age that, with the exception of Jensen (1979), was unprecedented since Brøndsted. Therefore, I shall discuss his contribution in some detail. On the basis of available material, he compared different find categories, thus identifying three cycles where the finds indicated a major change. The first was between the Bronze Age and EpRIA. Smaller houses and the advent of enclosed nuclear settlements, large cremation cemeteries, the lack of bronze, but continuity in the votive deposits, were explained as an internal collapse of the hierarchical Bronze Age society, which changed towards an egalitarian society. This pattern illustrated by finds of smaller houses and large cemeteries is already out of date in the Bronze Age. His pattern changed drastically around 50BC, the second cycle in Pearson's terminology. Here, inequality increased towards the 2nd century AD where inhumation graves with imports appear. Also the larger "chieftain's" residence at the settlement of, for instance, Hodde (Hvass 1985b), as well as the beginning of weapon graves, makes Pearson suggest that a group of regional chieftains emerged. They expressed their position in the grave material. This picture still reflects current understanding of that period. The third cycle, between AD 200 and 400/500, saw an increase in inequality. This assumption is based on evidence from Vorbasse (Hvass 1988:53; Hansen et al 1991) where an individual fencing of each farm unit suggests a planned layout. Also, large communal deposits replace the rich inhumation graves, suggesting that a larger organised ideology flourished until a "crisis" appeared in the 5th and 6th centuries (Pearson 1984:86). The change from big communal weapon deposits to deposition of more individual gold bracteates and gold items in the fifth century is seen as a change where the elite took over a new pantheon, possibly the later Viking gods. A more nuanced picture has emerged since then where there is an overlap of communal finds and single finds.

Pearson's contribution is interesting as a model, however, much of it was loaded with unnecessary Marxist jargon. Whether he was first, or the idea came from Hedeager (1990; 1992), his study was one of a number that subsequently changed the perception of the Iron Age. One problem with his study, however, was the rather small area of investigation (south Jutland). Secondly, as mentioned above, the 5th and 6th century crisis seems to have been identified from negative evidence. New finds today of continuing settlements, as well as new approaches, reveal that the GIA crisis may instead be due to source-critical circumstances (Näsman 1991a). Nevertheless, Pearson's approach set the agenda for a new contextual approach. Thus, Hedeager's (1978; 1987; 1990; 1992) study of more than 10,000 finds challenged the shortcomings of his limited geographical study with more material on a larger scale. In general Hedeager's results looked like Pearson's, with some qualification. For a further explanation it is necessary to go into more detail about the Iron Age find categories - firstly, the graves.

Graves

The graves of the EpRIA consist mainly of cremations, a rite which can be traced back to the Bronze Age around PIII (1200 BC), suggesting continuity from the Bronze Age (Hedeager 1992:97). The graves consist of all types: urn graves with and without stonesettings, urn cremation pits and cremation patches. Graves may either be clustered in cemeteries or in small groups. Brøndsted (1960:13) identified a regional patterning where south Jutland and western Fyn had mainly small barrow graves with stone coverings, a tradition which can be seen also in the Jastorf cultural tradition of Schleswig-Holstein. In central Jutland, urn cremation pits predominate, whereas in northern Jutland and eastern Denmark a lack of graves makes it difficult to make any substantial conclusions. In the LpRIA a tendency towards three regions in 1) Northern Jutland, 2) south-western Denmark, with a clear connection to Northern Germany, and 3) Bornholm, seem to divide the burial traditions (fig 3.1).

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[7] In reality there are only two institutions in Denmark that teach archaeology.

In the ERIA the find picture alters significantly, being the richest period of finds. The grave form includes cremation as well as inhumation, the latter being dominant on Sjælland, in north and central Jutland, while cremation is dominant on Fyn, Langeland, Lolland, southern Jutland and Bornholm. Other characteristics of the grave form are very localised. Thus, in North and Northwest Jutland, large stone cists predominate (Brøndsted 1960:139). Also, flat graves without stone structures from north Jutland with a tent-like superstructure have been found (Friis 1963). In central and East Jutland, large flat plank coffins with a line of individual stones, the so-called pot-graves predominate. In southern Jutland where cremation is dominant, deep

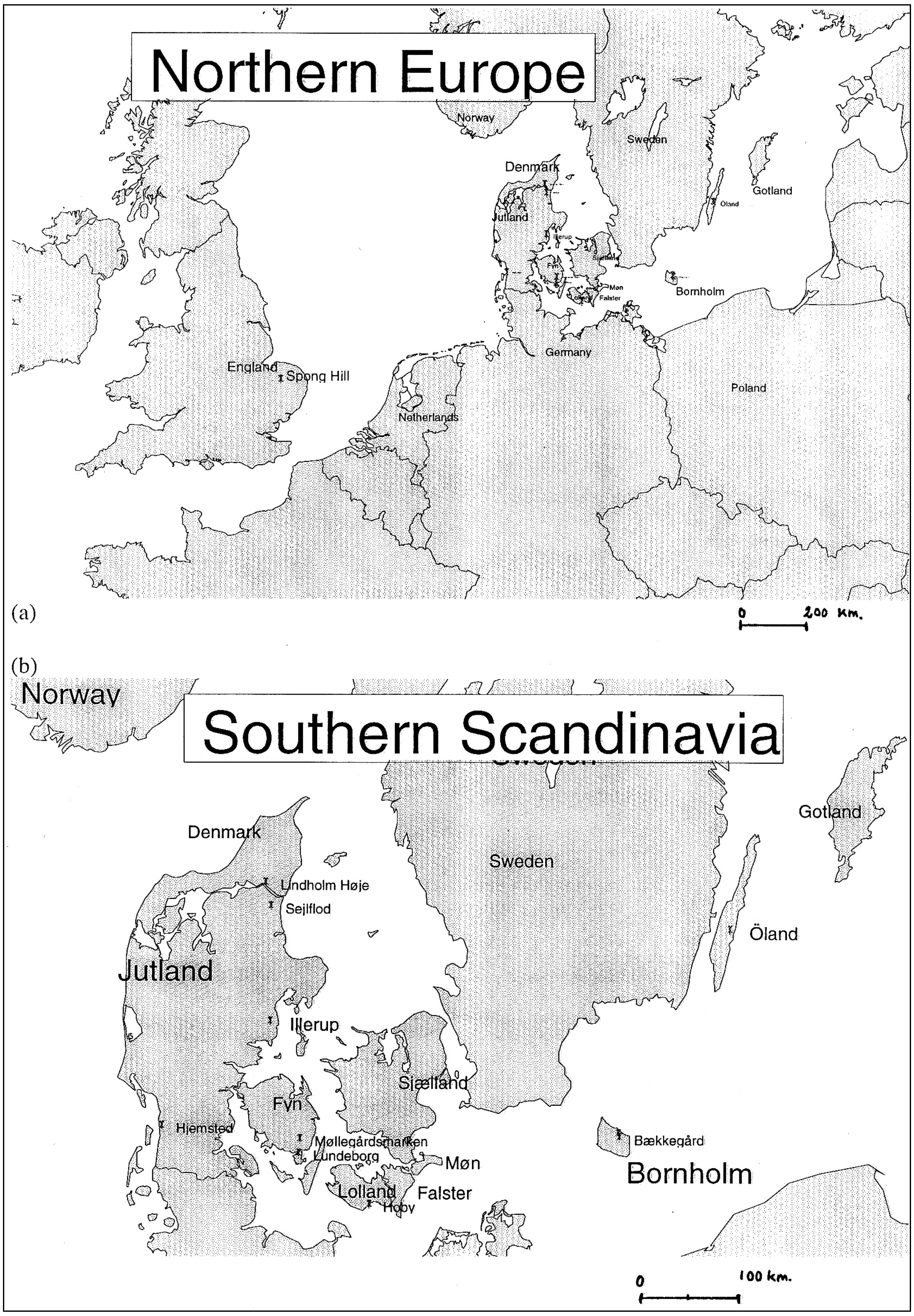
Northern Europe
Norway
Sweden
Denmark
Jutland
Illerup
Sjælland
Fyn
Møn
Falster
Lolland
Öland
Gotland
Bornholm
Germany
Poland
England
Spong Hill
Netherlands
(a)
0 200 km.
(b)
Norway
Southern Scandinavia
Denmark
Sweden
Gotland
Lindholm Høje
Sejlflod
Öland
Jutland
Illerup
Sjælland
Fyn
Hjemsted
Møllegårdsmarken
Lundeborg
Møn
Lolland
Falster
Hoby
Bækkegård
Bornholm
0 100 km.

Fig 3.1. Map of Northern Europe (a) and Southern Scandinavia (b) with the most important names mentioned in the text. For more details, see Hedeager 1992.

inhumation graves are found with and without stone packings around the coffin (Brøndsted 1960:138ff). In Jutland, the alignment is normally west-east, with the head towards the west. The Jutland cremation graves comprise all types: urned cremations, urned cremation pits, and cremation patches. Cremations are often clustered in cemeteries, with the presence of a few inhumations alongside. On Sjælland, the number of graves is low, with inhumation as the most common rite. Burials in barrows, both primary and secondary, are found mainly in Jutland. In Sjælland, alignment is often north-south; in ERIA, with the head towards the north; in LRIA, towards the south. Fyn is an area of mixed rituals in all periods, but cremations tend to predominate (Brøndsted 1960:138).

The majority of grave finds from the LRIA are from Sjælland and Fyn. Jutland, Langeland, Lolland and Falster are badly represented. Inhumation is now dominant in Jutland and Sjælland, Lolland and Falster, though there is some cremation in southern Jutland. On Fyn, cremations continue unabated, as seen in the large cemetery of Møllegårdsmarken with more than 2000 graves. There are also a few rich inhumation graves as well, most notably the Aarslev grave, with an influence from south-eastern Europe (Werner 1988; Storgaard 1994). In north Jutland, there are still burials and reburials in stone cists. On Bornholm, cremation is regressing, although it had been dominant at an earlier stage. In general, the many local traditions in the ERIA seem to have disappeared, but weapon burials continue. A number of rich graves at Stevns in eastern Sjælland makes Hansen (1987) suggest that a centre was emerging here, though others object, stressing the fact that rich graves may just be a result of a more obvious burial rite. Not excluding the possibility of a centre in Stevns it is suggested that the term "centre" is positively assessed among more elaborate and diversified find complexes such as Gudme on Fyn (Näsman 1991a). I shall return to this question below.

In EGIA, the total of graves falls significantly (Hedeager 1992). Most finds are from north Jutland where cremation also dominates. Finds are often deposited below a small barrow surrounded by a rim of stones. Occasionally, graves cluster in cemeteries, most notably at the inhumation cemeteries of Sejlflod and Lindholm Høje in northern Jutland, which consists mainly of cremations, and the inhumation cemetery Hjemsted in southern Jutland. Single graves also appear at these sites. This pattern can be traced back to the later LRIA. In the rest of Jutland, both cremation and inhumation are found. On Sjælland, only inhumations are found.

In the LGIA, the relationship between inhumation and cremation follows that of the EGIA. At Lindholm Høje, which is one of the few well preserved cemeteries, the first monuments appear with stones in triangular, round, and ship-like formations around the grave. Urned graves are in a minority in both halves of the GIA (Ramskou 1976; Nielsen 1994). I will return to Lindholm Høje and other cemeteries in Chapter four.

Grave goods of the Pre-Roman and Roman Iron age

The grave finds of the pRIA consist of poor artefacts, brooches, pots and needles, as well as looped rings, the latter also appearing in hoards. All this suggests an egalitarian society - a pattern that is substantiated in the settlement and hoard evidence, as summarised above and below. Towards the end of the period, a number of richer graves with weapons appear in the cremation patches. Though dating between 400-200 BC, the weapon deposit at Hjortspring (Randsborg 1995) and the later weapon graves suggest a development towards an increasing level of violence, maybe because of increased social and territorial conflicts. The lack of continuity at the Hjortspring deposit suggests that larger territorial conflicts were still rare.

In ERIA most finds appear in inhumation graves. In those we find a number of dark, finely-decorated pots of high quality, the number being highest in the Jutish pot graves. The pots contain diverse and elaborate decoration, suggesting a regionalised pattern. Also, very rich graves with imports as well as weapon graves appear, as I shall return to below. As seen on maps, weapon graves appear all over the country. Combination analyses by Hedeager (1992) suggest an emphasis on certain types of weapon graves in the western part of the country. As combination analysis is fundamental to this book, I shall turn to it here in some detail.

"Fürstengräber"

If we enlarge the scope of this survey towards continental research (Steuer 1982:209), it is possible in Northern Europe to distinguish between, firstly, rich "princely" graves of the Lübsow type[8], which are often female graves with rich imports and brooches with zoomorphic heads. Denmark falls within this network of "princely" graves that is evinced by examples from Bendstrup (Hedeager et al. 1981) and Hoby in Lolland. Frequently, those types of graves are found in the northern or eastern part of Denmark. Hedeager and Kristiansen include more graves without weapons in the analysis, dividing them between combination types A, B and C. Type A consists of brooches of silver/bronze, needles and clasps of mostly silver, and glass and amber beads. In the B and C types combinations where only 4 and 3 of the combinations appear, brooches are a constant. Common to the latter types is that they are all inhumation graves with pottery and knives, as well as golden beads and silver, and are thus interpreted as female graves[9]. From the distribution of ERIA it is obvious that the "princely" graves always have an eastern distribution (Hedeager 1992:158ff). This pattern suggests a level of regional lords keeping up diplomatic contacts with the Roman Empire and using this contact as a justification for their power. Imports may be seen as evidence of a prestige goods economy. In the LRIA the emphasis is concentrated on Sjælland, particularly on Stevns and in Thuringia in Germany, whereas prestige goods seem to disappear from burials in Jutland.

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[8] Eggers (1953) has rather subjectively defined this grave type as graves which a) are away from cremation cemeteries b) have chambers of stone c) inhumations d) no weapons e) rich grave goods also in female graves f) Roman imports, especially bronze and glass bowls g) interregional similarity in furnishing . In LRIA a similar group is called Hassleben Leuna graves (Gebühr 1974; Steuer 1982:209ff, with references). For lack of better words, I shall call them "princely" graves, in German "Fürstengräber", a common term in continental archaeology, though it is difficult to assess any medieval legal quality to those types of graves, as some scholars do.

[9] This contention is substantiated by skeletal evidence in Juellinge at Lolland (Hedeager et al 1981:116; Friis-Johansen 1923).

Weapon graves

The other major grave type is weapon graves. These may, according to Hedeager, be subdivided into types I, II and III (1992:128), the complete type I being graves with sword, shield, spear, and occasionally spurs or axe. Often they appear with gold finger rings, as well as imports, especially in LpRIA and ERIA but less often in LRIA. Spurs appear either with this full combination, or alone with gold finger rings. Type II are graves with sword and shield, or with spurs and shield, but always with a shield. Grave type III are graves with sword, spear or shield. In terms of time periods it appears that combination II is the most common in the LpRIA and ERIA, but combination III is in majority in the LRIA. In all periods, graves with a full weapon set of type I comprise only 10-15 % of weapon graves (Hedeager 1992:121). In LpRIA there are only 10 graves, concentrated in southern Jutland. In ERIA weapon graves concentrate in southern Jutland, with a total of 24 graves of type I. In LRIA only six graves are known. Thus it appears from the graves that a warrior aristocracy developed in LpRIA, and it was widespread in the ERIA. In the LRIA, a military order is no longer marked in weapon graves, possibly because it was not necessary to mark it.

The conclusion from these two major groups of graves, the weapon graves and the "princely" graves, is that they are complementary, located in different regions of Denmark and Europe (Hedeager et al 1981:122). The graves of type A & B are placed only in Djursland and the Aarhus area. The rich weapon graves of type I are known along the entire East Coast of Jutland, and in southern Jutland, but often not more than one in each *Herred*[10]. From this pattern, Hedeager and Kristiansen (1981:122) distinguish between: 1) a south-western group with a dominance of cremation graves as well as rich weapon and spur graves, also often being cremations; combinations A and B are absent here; 2) a north-eastern group where there is a concentration of rather standardised graves with similar furnishings without gold rings. In some of the cemeteries only one grave appears with a rich furnishing of combinations A and B. Overall, weapon graves are poor. This may mean that in the northeastern area status is more connected with "female" inventory, whereas in the southern group, weapons and spurs are connected to male warrior status.

Other studies in northern Europe where skeletal evidence is present are for instance, the cemeteries of Kemnitz and Hamfeld (e.g., Gebühr 1970 figures 10-12; Gebühr & Kuhnow 1976; Künst 1978: 88; see also Thrane 1967). Here, Gebühr demonstrated a connection between weapons and spurs in graves with young men. Spurs alone were connected with older, rich, powerful men, assumed by the coinciding presence of gold. This pattern indicates that full weapon sets are connected to active warriors, whereas spurs indicate a higher economic as well as symbolic status of horses at home and in battle, a pattern that is supported by the weapon deposit finds (Ørsnes 1988). On the basis of this analysis Hedeager and Kristiansen (1981:126) suggest that the socio-political situation in the ERIA was one of smaller regions with size of a modern *Herred*, with a warrior controlling each region (Hedeager 1981: 126)[11].

A consequence of the find pattern is that a rising older warrior elite of local chiefs (graves with spurs) in the southern region had younger retainers as warriors (other weapon combinations). Such a relationship is often followed by a patrilineal social structure. On the other hand, in the northeastern region where there are no rich weapon graves only rich female graves, another ideology with an emphasis on female status was present. With the emphasis on female status this indicates a bilateral social structure, but it does not mean that weapons did not matter, only that they were not a part of the burial ritual. It is difficult to understand exactly what the grave rite shows, but, as discussed before, there are many indications in the written sources that Germanic society was bilateral rather than patrilineal (Murray 1983). From the way that Hedeager and Kristiansen present the data, it cannot be positively assessed whether they are right or wrong, only that there are two different rituals.

In a larger regional and interregional perspective, this pattern is substantiated in that weapon graves are also found in Central Europe, whereas the rich female "Fürstengräber" are located all the way south to Bohemia, eastwards towards Weichsel, northwards as far as Sjælland and Fyn. In other words, the latter find picture is a milieu of rich graves, with an emphasis on the quantity of imports. Elsewhere, Hedeager (1978) has shown that a buffer zone of around 200 km from the Roman frontier "Limes" was the division beyond which a zone with large prestige imports appeared serving as high status items. Closer to the frontier, prestigious imports were absent in the graves. This "buffer" supports the contention of a divide between a western and eastern zone of "Germania Libera" in terms of grave rituals, including Denmark where the division may lie in Jutland (Steuer 1982).

Thus, we have three regions within the Germanic area: 1) a "buffer zone" close to the Roman frontier where bronze coins and other "cheap" imports appear, 2) a "conflict zone" in the Southwest where a warrior aristocracy dominated the grave ritual, and 3) a north-eastern "Fürstengräber" horizon where contact with the Roman world appeared to be of a more diplomatic nature and where exchange of gifts were expressed through the grave ritual interregionally, and as prestige goods at a local level. To the second region belongs the "warrior" graves of southern Jutland with few imports, and to the third region belongs north and eastern Denmark as well as Scania, with the rich graves of, for instance, Hoby demonstrating direct diplomatic contact with the historically-documented "*legatus*" C. Silius (Friis-Johansen 1923:157ff)[12]. Historical evidence substantiates the above regionality (Hedeager et al 1981:133ff; Thompson 1965).

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[10] A *Herred* is a larger unit than a parish, but a smaller unit than the present administrative unit, the county (amt). The *Herred* may be the original organisation of the country going back to the "hundreds" from where the crew for the ships were recruited during the Middle Ages. Hines (Hedeager 1992:106) has translated it with the word "district".

[11] See, however, Hedeager et al 1981 note 20.

Thus, burial evidence of the ERIA is of a rather localised nature, indicating regionalised chiefdoms, with the exception of the eastern zone, where an international contact web was displayed. This pattern changes significantly around AD 200 where not only the grave finds, but also other find categories, suggest a major ritual change. In general, the emphasis on prestige graves changes towards central Sjælland and Fyn, whereas many counties of Jutland become void of prestige finds. In the LRIA, a number of graves with high NAT scores, as well as imports and gold, can be identified in Sjælland (Hansen 1987;1995; Hedeager 1992:147), with Stevns as a centre. In general, it seems that a move towards imitating the "princely" inhumation graves was present, meaning that pretenders challenged the prestige goods ideology. In Jutland, on the other hand, weapons disappear, showing that there was no need for demonstrating such an ideology any more. The appearance of large weapon deposits, which emerge precisely at this time, suggests that territorial conflicts between regions of the size of a modern county were present. Having discussed the data of the graves, it is now necessary to turn to the hoards as a supplement to the pattern outlined above.

Hoards

Whether graves can be seen as belonging to the private sphere is unclear, though it seems reasonable to see most hoards as having a connection to the collective sphere of society, revealing the relationship between the community and the gods. Graves, on the other hand, may reveal more about the relationship between the individual family (or families) and the gods when they are not high prestige graves, in which case they may reveal a much more collective understanding of contemporary society. In some ways, graves and hoards may be complementary in an understanding of Iron Age social structure.

A continuing feature of finds since the Stone Age is the deposition of hoards. Although hoards are present throughout prehistory, the content and context of hoards changes drastically from EpRIA to GIA, showing that their meaning changed accordingly. To understand hoards, a look at the find circumstance, the artefact set and the geographical as well as chronological variation may reveal whether they were treasure hoards, or votive offerings used in the ritual communication and destruction of wealth. One major assumption which, with some modifications, has stood the test of time since Worsaae (1866), is that finds from bogs (i.e., former lakes) are unlikely to be understood as treasure or traders' hoards, because it would be difficult to retrieve the hoard again. Besides, when the composition of the material is non-random, it cannot be understood as a treasure, which was amassed quickly. Thus, it may be possible to conclude that most finds with a *non-random* content from bogs were used in rituals. Concerning finds on dry land, here too the composition suggests whether they are votive offerings or treasure. The religious content of the finds we can only estimate, but possibly they were votive offerings to gods.

One can thus distinguish between two categories of hoards, one being religious, as it has been selected according to a strict composition, for instance, in pairs, as is often the case with neck rings, arm rings, gold bracteates and relief brooches. The other category such as ring gold and bars, which appear more randomly with other artefacts in bogs, points to a secular use. It could also reflect a more private religious sphere where the person piles up wealth for an afterlife. With these assumptions in mind, it should be possible to reach aspects of social structure from hoards of the Iron Age

From the EpRIA, there is a continuity of neck rings from the late Bronze Age. Almost all are found in wetlands, and none are found in graves. They are often found in pairs with no other finds. The distribution of crown neck rings and knobbed neck rings are complementary, with the latter found in Sjælland and the former in the rest of the country (Hedeager 1992:39). Most of the rings are difficult to date, but are assumed on the basis of similar ones in the Bronze Age to belong to the earlier PRIA.

In LpRIA the nature of the deposits changes. According to Hedeager, 21 cauldrons were found in bogs, on dry land, and in grave contexts by 1992. In bogs and on dry land, they are individual finds, whereas cauldrons from graves appear with full weapon sets, sword, spear and gold finger rings. A number of Celtic display wagons also appear in this period, for instance, the wagon from Dejbjerg in Jutland found in a bog (Petersen 1888), and from cremation graves in Langå on Fyn (Albrectsen 1954), and Kraghede in North Jutland (Klindt-Jensen 1950:102ff). Other artefacts are cast bronze buckles, mainly from bogs, and gold finger rings in graves, as well as Celtic gold torques from bogs. In conclusion, it is only the gold neck rings that never occur in grave contexts. From the pRIA, the majority of hoards are found as bog deposits. The early period gives the impression of a restrictive use of rituals, whereas in the LpRIA it loosens up.

In the RIA the practice of hoarding almost ceases and the ritual emphasis moves towards the graves, being the period with most finds. In the LRIA, but most clearly at the beginning of the GIA, hoards appear again. Gold hoards are the largest group of finds with different rings such as finger, arm and neck rings, together with hack gold and bars. Also gold bracteates appear in the hoards, as well as de luxe brooches of silver, gilded silver or bronze. Brooches are the only silver artefacts, which appear in combination with gold artefacts. The silver hoards contain pure silver, hack silver and bars.

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[12] The name C. Silius is engraved underneath a Roman cup.

Of brooches, cruciform brooches are known from the end of the fourth century, and fifth century into the sixth (Reichstein 1975), and silver-sheet brooches from the end of the fourth century into the fifth century, developing into relief brooches in the late fifth and early sixth century (Åberg 1924). Many large and small cruciform brooches, silver-sheet brooches and relief brooches are bog finds. Small cruciform brooches appear in grave finds. Large cruciform brooches, silver sheet-brooches, and swastika brooches, as well as Nydam and Haraldsted brooches are more rare in graves, the three latter belonging in LRIA. Cruciform brooches in bogs are found alone, whereas relief brooches are found together with beads, bracteates and gold finger rings. In graves, silver sheet brooches appear together with beads, pottery, bone combs and wooden buckets. The majority of cruciform brooches appear in Jutland with an emphasis on northern Jutland. Here, they mainly appear in bogs. The small cruciform brooches from graves are also known on the islands (Hedeager 1992:54). In the LGIA most brooches are bronze brooches that are often gilded (Ørsnes 1969:47ff). That most brooches do not appear in bogs now suggests that they are either from graves or settlements, as many metal detector finds have revealed. In conclusion, brooches are overwhelmingly visible to us in funerals, with the exception of the EGIA, where they also appear in hoards.

Gold bracteates and gold

The total of gold bracteates in Denmark is estimated to be 285 (Hauck 1985ff). Most bracteates are found as hoards in wet or dry land and not, as in Norway, the continent and England, in graves, suggesting a different meaning behind the behaviour of deposition. The majority of bracteates are found alone. Another group of bracteates appears in higher numbers, together with brooches, mainly in bogs. In this combination they also appear with beads and spiral finger rings of gold. Bracteates are found throughout in the entire country, with an emphasis on Jutland (Hedeager 1992:57)[13]. As to arm and neck rings, they are almost always found alone. A total of 45 kg of gold has been found from the 400 years of the GIA. The total distribution indicates that less gold is found in western Jutland, whereas the highest numbers are found in the islands and in northern Jutland (Hedeager 1992:65). Ring gold and bars comprise a quarter of the total gold, and are predominantly found on Fyn and Sjælland. Ring gold is found mainly, but not exclusively, on dry land and most often only in combination with pure gold, or on its own.

Weapon hoards

A special category of hoards is the great weapon deposit hoards in bogs from LRIA mainly in eastern Jutland, eastern Schleswig and Fyn. The analysis of the finds in time, space and combinations has led to significant conclusions as to the chronology, origin and organisation of the army, as well as contemporary society (Ilkjær 1993; Ilkjær et al. 1994). In Ejsbøl Ørsnes (1984, 1988) suggests that the artefacts could have been used by at least 200 persons. Other numbers are 300 at Nydam and 500 at Vimose. In Skedemosse on Öland, 500 to 800 persons may have been represented (Steuer 1982:166). Also, it has been possible to assess certain aspects of fighting techniques, leading to a better understanding of the importance of the spear as not only throwing weapons but also as hand weapons (Gebühr 1977 & 1980). This may explain the relatively few swords that appear with spear in a ratio of 1:3 and 1:5 cases (Steuer 1982:298). The coincident number of sets of belt buckles and swords makes Lønstrup (1988:96) suggest, however, that every warrior had a sword. The ratio between swords and lances thus reflects the ones who died, and consequently left their swords at the battlefield. Numerous arrowheads also indicate the importance of archers, a conclusion, which could not have been reached on the basis of graves, as arrowheads are almost absent there. The presence of very few mail coats and other armour suggests a high mobility of the warriors, whereas the various weapons suggest a specialised function within the army. Riding gear of a specialised nature shows that mounted leaders of the army were at the highest level. Bridles developed from snaffle bits to curb bits and from leather to bronze over time, indicating an evolution towards more specialised horsemanship. As seen from the analysis of graves, there is a correspondence, though the weapon hoards in many ways supplement the insight into the social warrior as opposed to the individual person in each grave. A survey of different weapon deposits along the East Coast of Jutland may, together with the graves, give an insight into the size of the region defeating and depositing the equipment of the intruding army. It is obvious here that the deposits lie within a distance of ca 30-40 km, which matches the size of the recent modern counties[14]. Comparing this pattern with graves where there was one leading person within a *Herred,* it seems that there would possibly be five to ten *Herreds* to one deposit. This means that there were five to ten leaders in one army, which corresponds well with the ratio of “horse gear” found in the offerings (Lønstrup 1988:97). Thus, the picture that emerges is one of a standing leader with a group of young professional warriors from a number of nuclear settlements. The professional nature of the army is indicated by the uniform nature of the weaponry. Although at Illerup, it has been estimated that a lot of the iron is from another region, possibly West Götaland in Sweden or South Norway (Ilkjær et al 1994), from the graves it is reasonable to assume that the army in the region of the weapon deposits was similarly equipped.

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[13] See however Brøndsted 1960:292.

[14] Although the size of the hoards vary quite substantially.

The more prestigious artefacts in graves and deposits, with the exception of the LpRIA, are mutually exclusive. This means that artefacts, which appear in graves in an area, do not appear in deposits. Also, as mentioned above, some artefacts only appear in certain combinations, showing a non-random, meaningful pattern. There are different periods where the medium for the use of material symbols changes between graves and hoards, most explicitly seen in the ERIA where hoarding ceases (Hedeager 1992:78). In the RIA the *quantity* of imported material is important, whereas in the EGIA an investment is put into *quality*, the golden items, such as gold bracteates and elaborate relief brooches.

The interpretation of the pattern extracted from hoards as a source may be that in the pRIA where it seems that bronze ceased to flow into northern Europe, the Hallstatt culture turned its back on the northern plain (Jensen 1982). The lack of bronze led to a collapse or restructuring of the chiefdom economy of the Bronze Age. Hoarding of worn bronze rings must have been a communal system masking a continuation of the former system, whereas the large communal grave fields show a common identity of the local community. The absence of iron in hoards could suggest that it was not as prestigious as bronze, because it could be obtained locally, whereas bronze could not. Thus, bronze, as in the Bronze Age, symbolised contact with “the alien”. So in the EpRIA rituals had a conservative function. In the LpRIA votive offerings changed towards a more varied and exotic range with cauldrons and wagons also appearing in a number of rich graves. This coincidence implies that a symbolic fight between warrior groups in society was beginning, who were trying to assume the use of religious right and power through their rich graves. In the RIA, collective deposition stops, except for pots, suggesting that an elite with an emphasis on the individual grave has become established, using grave rituals to underline that particular social order. This pattern continues into the LRIA and shows that rituals had a more innovative role. The appearance of gold bracteates and the lesser emphasis on burials in the EGIA can be seen as the existence of an elite, which has now taken over the rituals and institutionalised religion and power (Fabech 1991b). The end of both deposits and graves in LGIA is interpreted as indicating a more stable social order where there is no need to legitimate power in the grave rituals. As shall be seen this was instead done in the houses, the weapons, jewellery and through style, to which I will return. In order not to make negative conclusions, therefore, one has to compare this argument with other find categories in more detail, not the least the settlement material that has expanded during the last decades.

Settlements

The definition of settlements includes everything from simple pits, hearths, culture layers with potsherds, building traces, and nuclear settlements. Instead of the misleading word “village” which has connotations with the Middle Ages, I have used the term “nuclear settlement”, settlement or site for a “village” or “hamlet”.

Large-scale excavation methods in the last three decades have opened a new chapter in archaeology and the number of settlements is increasing every year. This relatively late start does not make our sample representative (Hvass 1985a). Thus, it still needs to be discussed how typical of their era major sites, such as Grøntoft (Becker 1965;1968;1971[15]), Hodde (Hvass 1975; 1985b), Vorbasse (Hvass 1978; 1983; 1988) are. But those sites give an opportunity to follow a development within central west Jutland over 1500 years. Hvass (1988) has been able to reveal similar tendencies in the islands with regional variations. If we add the presence of hoards as well as graves as an indirect indicator of settlements, the picture suggests that the population of settlements was rather dense in the entire country. In the earlier Iron Age, it is possible to identify a densely populated habitation area, especially from the beginning of ERIA where settlements are to be found within 1 km apart. This picture is substantiated by intensive investigations and surveys of selected areas of, for instance, Thy (Jensen 1976) in north-west Jutland and Ribe (Jensen 1980) in south-west Jutland (Hedeager 1992:192).

General criteria for habitation are, firstly, areas where there is arable land, neither too wet nor too heavy within 1 km, and, secondly, access to winter fodder for animals, meaning proximity to wet areas. Direct access to water may mean less, because a number of settlements have wells. In other words, around our era one could settle almost all over the country of present Denmark and Scania, because of flexible agriculture.

House types and settlement organisation

Steen Hvass’ work (1988 & Hansen et al 1991) on most known settlement material in Jutland has outlined two major chronological changes in the settlement pattern. The first is around AD 200, the second around AD 700.

In general, however, from the EpRIA to ERIA, house construction is fairly similar, consisting of walls of wattle and daub, or, in the north of Jutland, of turf (Bech 1985) or wood. In some places there are traces of sill stones. The house at Grøntoft in central Jutland has three aisles and a width of 3-5 meters, the earlier ones being narrower than the later. The length is between 7-16 meters on average.

Just before the turn of our era the organisation changes from a commonly enclosed nuclear settlement of the Grøntoft (landsby A) (fig 3.2) type to an enclosed nuclear settlement with a common outer fence, with some houses having an individual fence. Long houses at Hodde are a bit longer, the average being ca 13 m. The principal farmstead is ca. 30 m long, about 50 to 75 sq. metres, leaving half for the living space for a family, the other half for a stable. Within the fence of the farm unit smaller houses may have functioned as smithies, storehouses or barns, as small houses with a length of 4-7 m indicate.

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[15] See also Rindel 1997.

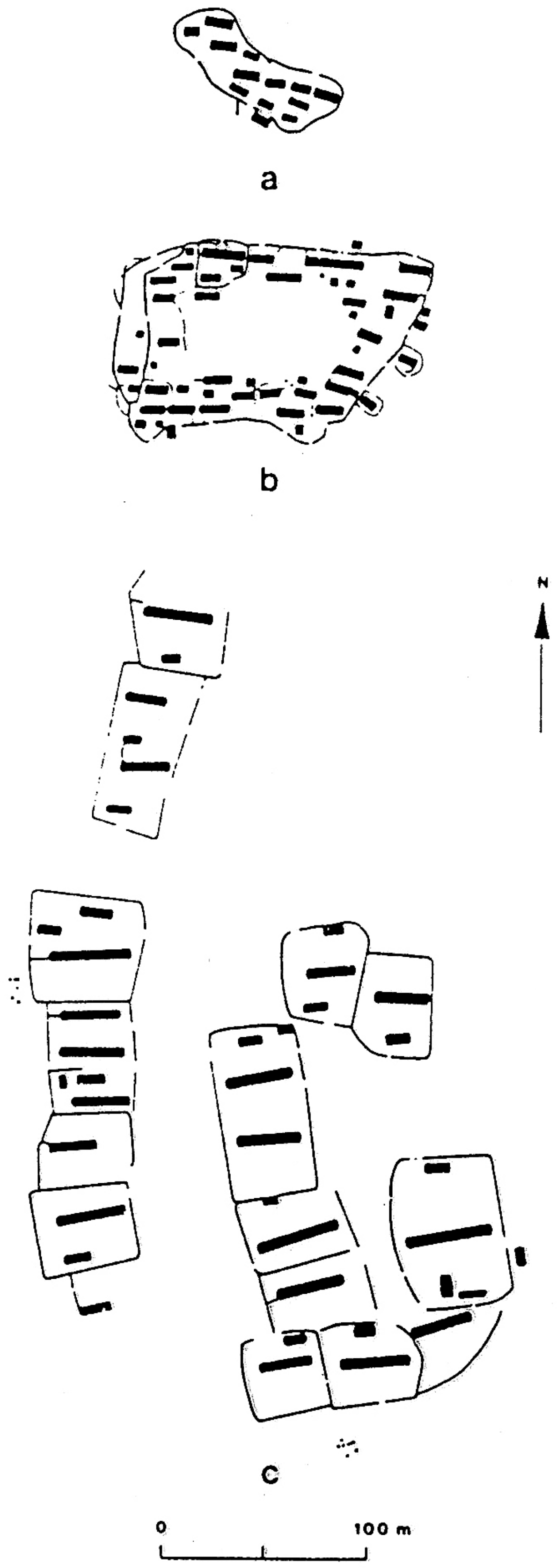

Fig 3.2. The development of settlements, (a) Grøntoft, second century BC, (b) Hodde, first century BC, Vorbasse in the fourth and fifth centuries (After Hvass 1985b).

Outside the individual fences, small houses may have been the place of poorer families, or specialised crafts (Hvass 1988). Also some of the houses in north Jutland have cellars (Lund 1979). Some of the nuclear settlements are placed in rows, as is the case with Priorslykke (Kaul 1985a) and Overbygård (Lund 1979). Thus, more seems to indicate that Hodde is an atypical site.

Bearing in mind that Hodde is not representative it is, however, interesting that a large house with good quality black ceramics and with the longest continuity in the settlement is present already before our era, indicating a leading person. Supporting this contention is that the house has its own individual fence within the common ground of the nuclear settlement - a common ground that was dominant at Grøntoft (landsby A). Also at the contemporary Jelling site (Hvass 1988:64) two single farms with a similar construction suggests that social differentiation is a fact around the beginning of our era. There is a tendency in this period towards specialisation of pottery, but as a supplement to agricultural farming. Other contemporary farms where no such distinction has been possible may indicate that Hodde and Jelling were at the top of a hierarchy of sites (Hvass 1988:67) - a regional hierarchy that also may be seen from the grave material above (Hedeager and Kristiansen 1981).

In the third and fourth century AD the houses become longer and differently organised, though the width is constant. It seems that the wall construction changed, because the walls are now straight, whereas the end of the house becomes curved. The set of roof-bearing posts are moved closer towards the centre, and the walls develop stronger features supporting the roof more substantially. In Vorbasse the length of the long house is in average around 33 metres, having doubled or tripled in comparison to earlier constructions. In most houses the living area is in the west, seen by a hearth and/or clay covered floor. Stalls and a lower floor indicate the presence of a stable in the east, though in some houses it is different (Hansen et al 1991). With a constant westerly wind this organisation seems the most logical, because the smell from the stable would be blown away.

The farmhouse comprises three, sometimes up to five, rooms, the houses apparently having more functions and inhabitants than a modern house. Around each individual farm house there is an open shed fence; because of its similarity in plan it is often called a "cycle shed fence", enclosing an area of ca 50 x 50m. Within the fence of the farm unit are also small houses, as well as 4 posts in a square, interpreted as stack barns or fuel sheds. The dugout huts or "Grubenhäuser" that are between 4.7 x 2.8 m with a depth of up to 0.80 m below the surface, appear from c. AD 200, but are often placed outside the fences of the farm unit.

This reorganisation of the houses, as well as the development from a common nuclear settlement towards an individual and larger farm unit, where a farmyard in Vorbasse (Hvass 1988) covers in average ca 2,500 sq.

metres, suggests that more specialised functions were connected to the individual houses (Hvass 1988:73). This pattern can easily be seen as one of inequality, economic specialisation, and maybe slavery, all of which institutions were known in the contemporary Roman Empire. Slavery is also known in the Gothic language from the 4th century (Wolfram 1988:101).

This development is rather constant in terms of size of the farm unit with minor changes in the houses (Hansen et al 1991:18). Around 700 AD there is a change towards more bowed walls in the houses, a phenomenon that continues among rural buildings into the Viking Age. Also the farm unit becomes larger, now being around 50 x 70 m or even 50 x 110 m. This, and other things, suggests that major changes took place around 700 AD. There also is a more regulated organisation of the farms. At Vorbasse, for instance, houses are placed on each side of a road, indicating some sort of organisation of the nuclear settlement (Hansen et al. 1991:25). Whether this can be seen as an indicator of a central organisation is still disputed. The coincident occurrence of the ports of trade, especially Ribe, the Kanhave channel across the island of Samsø as well as the fortification of the Danevirke (AD 737) in Northern Germany, all dated to the beginning of the 8th century suggest, however, one or more supra-regional leaders[16]. With Vorbasse as the model, the plan of the nuclear settlements also demonstrates a development from small-scale communities towards large and well-organised settlements. The evidence from settlement organisation having now been discussed we can turn to the economic basis.

Economic basis

One indicator for a community of the EpRIA and a common right of use to the land are the field systems (Celtic fields), which begin around 500 BC and end around AD 200[17]. The slow abandonment of the large Bronze Age halls is striking, and suggests that there is indeed a social as well as an economic connection between the appearance of field systems and smaller houses with stables, whether it starts in the Bronze Age or in the Iron Age. This coincidence may be explained by a stronger emphasis on manuring the fields (Liversage 1977; Liversage et al. 1987). The field systems, which in general measure around 22.5 x 30 metres, were easier to maintain with manure if manure was collected from the animals and spread. Thus, the new field systems, which are fairly similar throughout Denmark, suggest that this was a commonplace phenomenon in Scandinavia around 500 BC (Nielsen 1984:158ff). Eir (1980) demonstrates that this rather standardised measure times eight is a "tønde land"[18], a measure of land that is still in use.

From 500 BC, pollen diagrams show that the weather became wetter (Andersen et al. 1984). This may have been one reason for the early Iron Age people to change to a more labour-intensive economy where the animals were stalled up[19], because hay grows well in wet climates, making the stabling of animals possible. The presence of iron leaf knives, known from the EpRIA, scythe and sickle, from the time of the birth of Christ (Steensberg 1943; Myrdal 1982) supports the argument that fodder became more important for the household of the Iron Age farm. Towards the beginning of our era, pollen diagrams show us that it became warmer again (Andersen et al. 1984). But at this point there was no way back to a previous economic system. Thus, many settlements on the sandy soils of western Jutland were replaced by an extensive system where grazing left the landscape as moor, leaving field systems and settlements undisturbed under heath until today. On the heavier soil there was an expansion of settlements, clearing many forests in Jutland, less so in the islands.

The abandonment of field systems which happened in Sweden and Norway around AD 200 (Myhre 1978; Widgren 1983, Windelhed 1984) is just as striking and suggests a contemporary change in Denmark simultaneously with a major change in house size. All this suggests the establishment of a new form of production system, although we only have positive evidence from Norway (Myhre 1980), Sweden (Carlsson 1979) and Holland (Heidinga 1987). We may thus assume that around AD 200 we witness a change towards an infield - outland[20] system. In Denmark, finds from the Vallensbæk site (Kaul 1985:161) indicate the presence of a droveway. If so, the fields close to the nuclear settlement were under permanent intensive cultivation, while the land further away was used for grazing and hay. So in the later Iron Age we see a change towards a more intensive land use, a pattern that may explain the pollen diagrams. In the latter there is a change towards more signs of forest around AD 200, which can only be explained by less agriculture or more intensively used land, with a regenerating forest as a consequence. A more intensive land use seems more logical than less agriculture when we compare other find categories, which do not suggest a decline of the system of production.

Other evidence of increased production

As seen from Vorbasse, farmhouses and more functions within the farm unit are impossible to explain without a supplementary work force. With the advent of the rotary quern, as opposed to the saddle quern, and the more productive shaft oven of the Scarmbeck type (Voss 1991) we have various indications of an increasing production system, be it food production or iron production. In other words, the data suggests a re-organisation towards an intensive arable system throughout Scandinavia (Hedeager 1992:221). The appearance of beech wood on the heavy soils in the pollen diagrams can be explained on that account as well, because it provided timber, and mast for the pigs that may now have become important as a quick investment in meat.

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[16] Recent dendrodates of the Danevirke wall are now earlier than 737 AD. (Jørgensen 1995).

[17] The excavation of the well-preserved Bronze Age site Bjerre suggests that field-systems were already present in the early Bronze Age period II (Bech 1993:143).

[18] A "tønde" land is 5516.2 sqm.

[19] Though we do have evidence of stalls in a few Bronze Age houses it is not very commonly found.

[20] According to Berglund et al. (1986:60) the term outland more clearly explains that the land was in extensive use. The term outfield just means a field outside the infield area.

Burnt-down houses from the early Iron Age provide a glimpse of the stock present. In Ginderup in north Jutland in the stable there were bones from four sheep/goats, and a pig (Kjær 1928). Horses have also been found (Hatt 1928). In terms of grain, rye appears, as is also seen on pollen diagrams. This is not a coincidence as rye is more resistant to an impoverished soil[21].

Discussion

In short, the abandonment of the field systems around AD 200, together with indicators from settlement evidence pointing towards a continuity of large chiefly farms in a number of regions from 3/5th century into the high Middle Ages, suggests the advent of a tenurial system earlier than has previously been assumed (Jørgensen 1995). The right to land was now fixed to the farm, enclosed by a fence, indicating that the unit of production, craftsmen and labourers were the economic base of the household, belonging to a leading person who may sometimes have had more than one farm under him.

A reason for this reorganisation must have been that the traditional type of agriculture reached its limits, either in ecological terms, or in social terms, or both. The "crisis model" (Hedeager 1992) suggests that the forest pasture was destroyed, the land became open, and the soil was exhausted. The two ways of meeting this crisis were, firstly, by reorganising the production system and, secondly, by securing more territory. Interestingly, the great weapon offerings suggesting large armies and battles appear around AD 200 to 300. An alternative model of explanation is substantiated in the continuity of the settlement material and implies that the change around AD 200 cannot be explained solely as an ecological crisis. Following the Peer Polity Interaction model (Renfrew 1996), it explains that the change was due to increasing demand in an increasingly complex society (Näsman 1991b).

Whether an eco-determinist explanation or a social explanation is to prefer, it is evident that a *specialisation of the leader* starts in ERIA, where weapon graves as well as the "princely" grave stratum appears. That the rich graves are often found separated from other cemeteries substantiates this hypothesis. The pattern continues until the LRIA where prestige goods are no longer necessary in the grave ritual. The appearance of weapon deposits underlines, however, that territorial strife continued unabated. Also, in the weapon deposits, *the centralisation of power* can be read, the second feature in an early state. The disappearance of prestigious burials by the end of the LRIA can be interpreted in two ways. Either society could no longer maintain a prestige economy, or the economic structure founded by the prestige goods was now consolidated. The latter fits well with the appearance of votive gold hoards by the beginning of the EGIA, interpreted as an elite appropriating rituals and religious contact with the gods in the form of offerings of gold (Hauck 1987, Fabech 1991a, 1991b). Such a ritual would underline *the structural permanence of power*, the third feature that is expected in an early state. The hierarchy of the army, seen from the weapon deposits as well as the spatial separateness by the prestige graves underlines that *an escape from the kinship structure* had begun, a process which apparently was not really completed before the High Middle Ages.

General trends

The structure of the weapon hoards implies competition over territories approximating in size to modern counties. War was fought between armies of a warrior elite led by local warlords at least from LRIA and onwards. The synchronic appearance of "Olgerdiget" around AD 200 (Neuman 1982) and the underwater barriers of stakes in, for instance, the Haderslev fjord (Rieck 1993:211) supports the contention that territory was indeed at stake. Also the presence of bog iron in all of western Jutland must have been of major importance for the maintenance of a warrior society, thus giving a motive, though not the only one, for territorial battle (Hedeager 1992:172). It has been demonstrated from the analysis of graves that at least from LRIA a regional division between certain burial rites is possible. The territories are at the scale of Fyn, Sjælland, Northern Jutland and Southern Jutland. As far as Jutland is concerned, it has been demonstrated that the entire material culture may be divided into a northern and southern region in LRIA (Ringtved 1988)[22], a discussion to which I will return below.

The prestige good economy - signifying what ?

The essential difference in the interpretation of prestige goods in the Bronze Age and Iron Age is the circumstances under which they are found and used. In the Bronze Age, the prestige goods mainly consisted of elaborate bronzes produced *locally*, by foreign raw material. In the ERIA, Roman imports are produced in the Roman Empire showing *direct links over large distances* to a luxurious life style. In contrast to the Bronze Age, where only metal travels large distances, this suggests a supra-regional elite exchange system. Another difference is that the quantity of imports mattered more than quality in the RIA. This points to a spiral of consumption not precedented in the Bronze Age where bronzes appeared in fixed sets and in less quantity, implying a qualitative use of prestige goods. Thus, the Roman imports give an insight into the net of contacts and possession of wealth.

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[21] According to my colleague Peter Hambro Mikkelsen, analysis of a number of seeds in ovens in the Snorup settlement, Jutland, (ca 200-600 AD) points to the fact that there was most likely also winter cultivation of grain, a fact that many have not believed began before the high medieval period (Mikkelsen pers. comm.).

[22] For other views see Brøndsted 1960 and Neumann 1982.

Symbols of power

The snakehead ring as well as swastika and rosette brooches, all locally produced (Werner 1988), can be understood as individual symbols appearing in fixed sets, as opposed to imported glasses or bronzes. I shall return to that discussion below. So on the one hand, there are *personal symbols of status* on the other *external status symbols,* such as Roman imports, which legitimise the appearance of a new elite aspiring to a Roman lifestyle. As discussed in Chapter one, in order to maintain the prestige good economy social mobility as well as expansion and conflict is to be expected. This is exactly what the evidence suggests in the end of the ERIA around AD 200 where synchronic changes in the material culture imply a major change of society.

Other evidence of leadership

As mentioned above, a major structural change appears in the archaeological material around 200 AD. Also, an indication of an intensification of leadership is evidenced from other sources. Studies interpreting place names on maps are fairly recent. They were initiated by Clausen (1916) in Denmark but only rediscovered recently by archaeologists (Brink 1988). Place names have one major problem, because they are difficult to date absolutely. There is general agreement, however, about dating a number of place names relatively. Thus, names such as -inge, -lev, -løse, -sted are older than -torp, -by, -holt, -rød, the latter considered to belong to the Viking Age and early Middle Ages, the former to the Iron Age. Attempts to correlate place names and archaeological finds have been successful. By listing the connection between certain names in Denmark and their distance from Iron Age sites of a certain date, it was possible to demonstrate a significant connection between the *-lev* names and LRIA sites (Nielsen 1979). So evidence from Brink (1988) and from statistical analysis has made it likely that place names with *-lev* were initiated in the LRIA. This pattern is an indication of the emergence of private or individualised right of use to the land, because the *-lev* names always have a person's name as a prefix. Later studies by Fabech (1991a; 1991b) and Fabech and Ringtved (1995), who work with both names and geological maps, have traced later names further on in time. They identified a connection between gold finds, gold bracteates, gold foils, and sacred place names beginning with Gud- and Vi-, from the 5th century and onwards (Fabech 1991a:299) before the communal weapon offerings ceased to be deposited in the bogs. Hauck (1987) has interpreted the bracteates as being evidence of a cult of Odin and the Ases of the later Viking mythology, a suggestion which is supported by others (Fabech 1991a:300), and by the coincident appearance of sacred place names and gold finds.

Conclusions

From the archaeological evidence, years of intensive research have produced the reliable conclusion that among the Germanic people in Northern Europe there is a concentration of power among a warrior elite - a warlord and his men. It seems to begin around the late pRIA when the first weapon graves and rich import graves appear. The development is expressed in the grave material in the ERIA only to be succeeded in the EGIA by evidence of a similar development in the votive offerings. In the settlement material a similar development can be identified from the late pRIA. This is exemplified in the settlement of Hodde with the chieftain's farm. Most interesting is that the environmental evidence supports this contention of a concentration of leadership and the means of production, because what is seen around AD 200 is a development towards bigger farms as well as different field systems which could intensify the production. The coincident evidence of territorial conflict as well as the emergence of a territorial centre in Gudme in terms of wealth and trade as well as cult, points to a substantial concentration of power at the macro-level (Thrane 1987;1991). I shall return to this discussion in Chapter nine. That a king in Gudme was not the super-regional "King of Denmark" in AD 200 is suggested by the large number of weapons in different bogs in different regions as well as other regional studies (Ringtved 1988; Nielsen 1997a) pointing to more regional leaders. In this connection it is interesting that the origin of a number of artefacts from the Illerup find lies in Gøtaland in western Sweden or southern Norway (Ilkjær 1993;Ilkjær et al. 1994). This is seen in the bone combs, which are of elk antler, an animal that was by then already extinct in Denmark (Ilkjær 1993:313; Ilkjær et al. 1994:14ff). Also, pilot studies of the iron suggests that, except for swords which are from the Roman Empire, the structure of the iron is similar to iron from modern southern Norway and western Sweden (Ilkjær et al. 1994:48). So if the evidence above is substantial enough does this mean, as mentioned in Jordanes, that the Danes, who according to him are of the same origin as the Swedes[23], were the attackers who drove the Herulians out? In that case one could suggest that the attackers (Danes) may have become based in the Gudme area. That the weapons and other artefacts in the bogs are of foreign origin, and must be those of the defeated army, does not refute this hypothesis, because there could have been more waves of attacks, as indeed is seen in the chronological pattern of deposits. Alternatively, simple trade may explain the presence of foreign artefacts, where most of the artefacts could have arrived via the Gudme area that had connections stretching as far as the Roman Empire. But who traded iron, combs, let alone spearheads, which were all common in the area? The number of warriors in Illerup, estimated by Ilkjær to lie around 1000 persons (Ilkjær 1997) and in other offerings between 300 to 800 men, suggests that a large migration cannot have been present. Rather, if the story of Jordanes holds any core of historical truth, we must see the tribe of the Danes as one or a group of leading persons whose lineage and housecarls assumed power and who called themselves and their real and imaginary ancestors "Danes", as mentioned in the discussion of ethnicity in Chapter one and Chapter five. Also Procopius from the 6th century mentions the Danes[24]. It is, however, not before Ottar and Wulfstan's journey in the 9th century that we are certain that the Danes lived in present Denmark (Sawyer 1988:22).

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[23] ..quamvis et Dani, ex ipsorum stirpe progressi, Herulos propriis sedibus expulerunt,..(Jordanes' Getica 23).

The focus in this book is, however, the development of social structure at the micro-level, viz., the family, the lineage and the clan, which is why I shall turn my attention from the general to the particular -- to the smaller and relatively less important levels of society. In Chapter four I shall use a very minute study of a cemetery to identify how a contemporary small-scale society in Denmark of a rural settlement and its families fits into the general trends identified above. Thus, my interest is not so much the interregional *large-scale* prestige good symbols as much as the *personal symbols of power*.

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[24] For a popular narrative see also Hedeager 1988:212ff.

Chapter Four

Social analysis of South Scandinavian cemeteries - a dialogue with the dead

The aim of this chapter

My main focus in this chapter is an analysis of the Hjemsted graves and their internal structure in time and social and gendered space. This is because, firstly, the material is easily accessible. Moreover, a number of new graves at Hjemsted support and nuance earlier analyses. The problem, however, with this rather late material is the scarcity of grave goods compared to the earlier Roman period. Nonetheless, others (Ethelberg 1990; Ringtved 1988) have achieved a fine chronology. Therefore, as my main aim I have chosen to look more carefully at the body of data at Hjemsted in order to develop an apparatus of variables, which may reflect the *social structure* of society.

Secondly, in this chapter I shall move, inductively, from the specific to the general by including other relevant analyses of LRIA and GIA cemeteries from south Scandinavia (Jørgensen 1988; Nielsen 1991; Ringtved 1988). The limited number of cemeteries in this period allows me to include almost all known LRIA and GIA cemeteries to this date. As some of the data are already processed and analysed, I shall in this chapter work with both primary as well as well as secondary data.

Hjemsted

Hjemsted is situated in southwestern Jutland in Denmark on an elevation about 11 m. above the surface of the surrounding marshland (fig 4.1). The Iron Age finds from Hjemsted are published in two volumes by P. Ethelberg (1986 & 1990). They consist mainly of a description and chronological analysis as well as a catalogue. Within the "etape" I (fig 4.1) there also appeared a number of cremation graves (I & II), which date to the early Roman Iron Age (1st and 2nd century AD). Due to their early date those are left out of the analysis. Also there appeared a number of three-aisled long houses that are expected to be published in a separate volume.

Comparisons between the local dendrochronology curve from wells and C14 dates, establishes the latest phase at Hjemsted at around AD. 408 (Ethelberg 1990:22). The relation between houses, graves and wells in absolute chronology is still unclear. There seems, however, to be a taboo around the graves, since graves are never disturbed by later settlement, whereas the opposite can be the case.

The focus of volume I is the 88 inhumation graves called cemetery III by the author. When published the graves were considered one cemetery, whilst in volume II the author revised this approach, proposing that cemetery III, on the basis of later excavated family cemeteries[2] in the area, as well as chronological and chorological analyses, should be subdivided into at least two, maybe three "family cemeteries" (Ethelberg 1990:96) called V and VI and VII. As I will argue, this latter thesis cannot be substantiated. The second volume is a publication of other more recently excavated graves, some single graves and groups of family graves called I, II and IV, respectively, indicating a pattern of family cemeteries with no more than 16 graves over 200 years. The data for this analysis is collected from the catalogues in the above-mentioned volumes.

The chronology of the Hjemsted graves

The Hjemsted cemeteries are totally excavated. Due to the acidic ground there were no skeletons preserved, though some "ghosts" of the body were occasionally present. On the basis of a local relative chronology it is possible to integrate the graves into a regional (Ringtved 1988) and a European chronology (Hansen 1987). Hence, the inhumation graves lie within the time range of Early Roman Iron Age, Eggers' (1955) phase B2 and Early Germanic Iron Age Egger's phase D, or in absolute dates between AD 100 to 450. The problem with the end date is connected with the lack of comparative graves from the Early Germanic Iron Age in Denmark and the lack of material in graves in general. One of the only contemporary cemeteries, which is not yet fully published, is Sejlflod in Northern Jutland[3]. The Sejlflod cemetery and other grave material in Northern Jutland have quite a different combination of material culture already from the late Roman period. As opposed to the earlier smaller regions of the early Iron Age in Denmark, Ringtved (1988) has by comparing a large amount of material of different find categories divided Jutland into two regions of material culture, a) a northern and b) a southern, beginning around AD 150/200. South of the fortified earthwork of "Olgerdiget", dating from dendrochronology to AD 219 and 278 respectively (Neumann 1982), the third "Anglian" region of material culture seems different again. At least the pottery is to be compared with that on the island of Funen (Mackeprang 1943:43).

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[2] Family cemetery is often used arbitrarily. Here it means that the graves represent the family of a farm unit.

[3] Ringtved (1988) has had access to only part of the cemetery. Kindly, she has given me access to her data. The Sejlflod cemetery came out in 2000 after the set deadline of this book. Also Ethelberg mentions the Skovgårde cemetery on Sjælland where skeletons are present. Unfortunately this cemetery was not fully published either (in 1998 see however Ethelberg et alii. 2000). Bones are mainly present on Sjælland but mostly from single graves and badly excavated cemeteries from the last century (Sellevold et al. 1984).

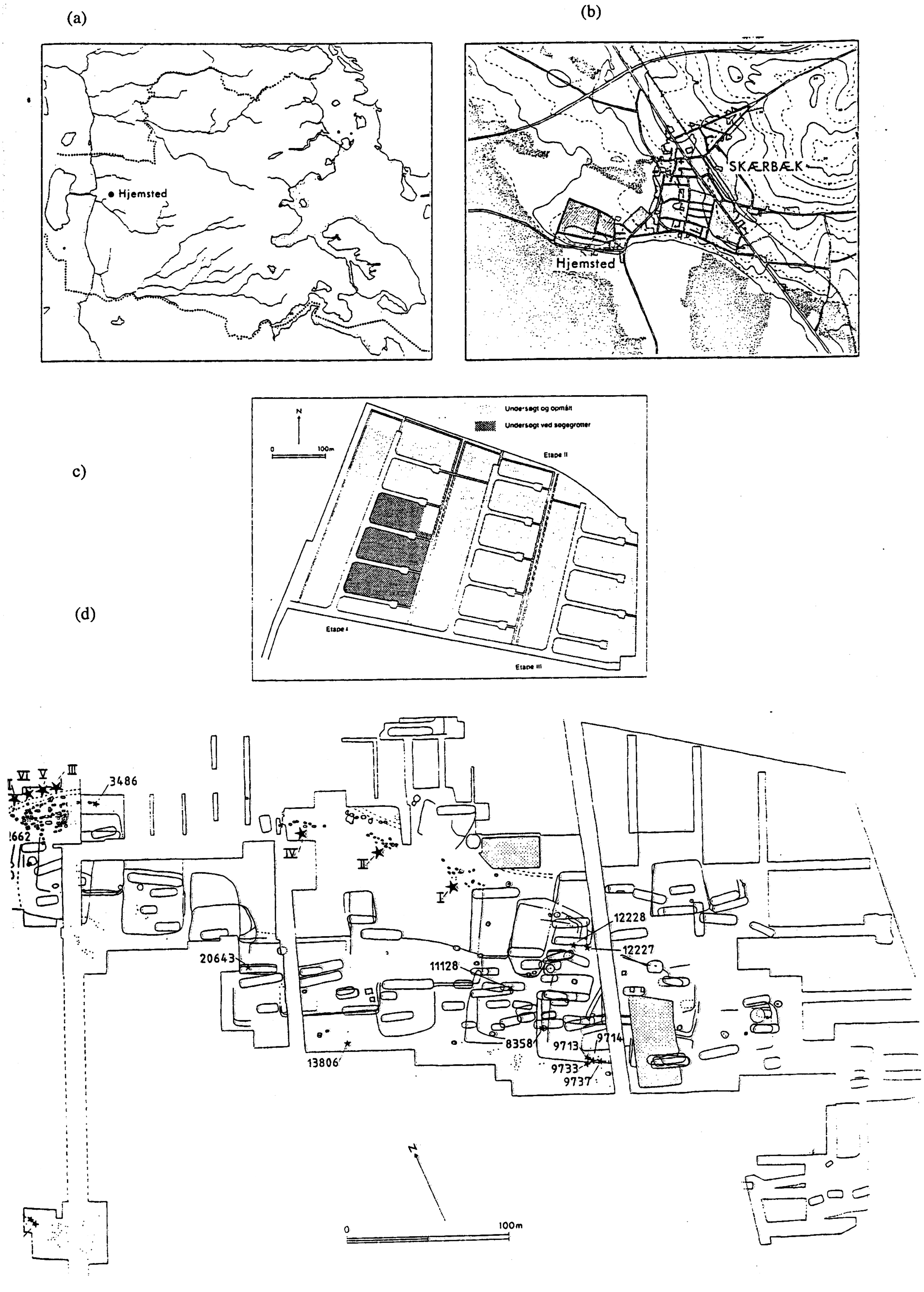
(a)
(b)
c)
(d)
Hjemsted
SKÆRBÆK
Hjemsted
N
0
100m
Undersøgt og opmålt
Undersøgt ved søgegrøfter
Etape I
Etape II
Etape III
VI
V
III
I
3486
662
IV
II
I
20643
11128
12228
12227
13806
8358
9713
9714
9733
9737
N
0
100m

Fig 4.1. Location of Hjemsted (a) (b), and area of excavation (c), (d). From Ethelberg 1990:8pp.

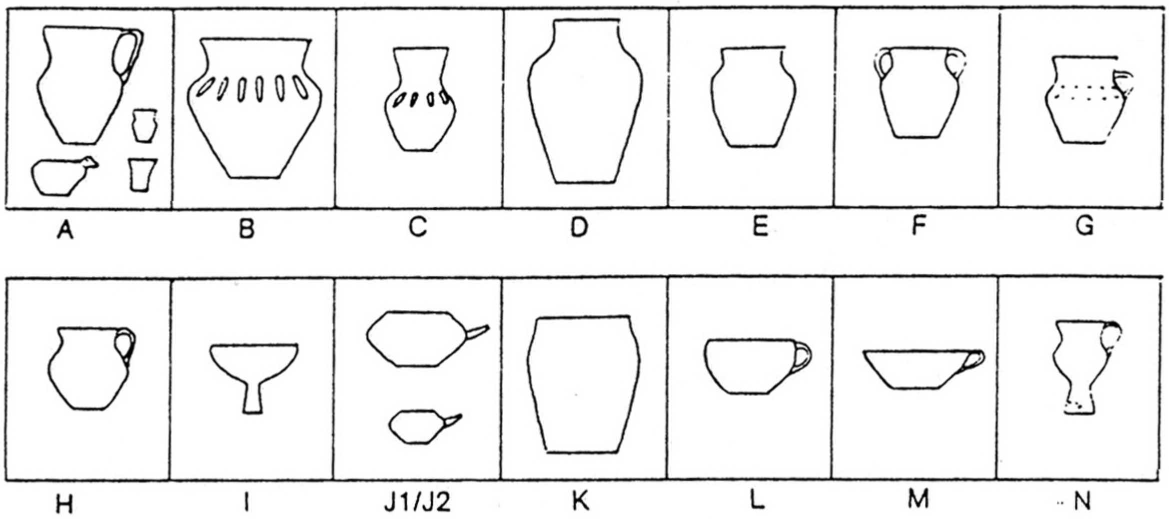

Fig. 4.2. Pottery types according to form. After Ringtved 1988: 113.

Recorded variables and units at the Hjemsted cemeteries

The graves on Hjemsted are registered in the matrix according to the categorisation made by the excavator. Thus hjxxx is cemetery III from volume I. hjsxxx is single graves from Hjemsted. hjiv is cemetery IV hjii is cemetery II. hji is cemetery I.

The following presence/ absence of variables has been recorded: date, cremation, inhumation, child grave[4], skeleton left side, skeleton right side, skeleton. Features of the grave are the following variables: coffin indefinite, coffin of plank, coffin of trunk. Also the orientation of the grave has been recorded. The following variables are present: wnw-ese, nw-se, ene-wsw, e-w, ne-sw, n-s.

Also gold finger rings and weapons are recorded. On pots the ornamentation has been defined in broad categories, such as linear ornament (li orn), plain (pl), chevrons (ch), curvilinear (cuvli), boss, stamp (stmp), dots (dot). Obviously more than one type of ornament may appear on a pot. The pots have been described according to a typology of the period (fig 4.2) defined by Ringtved (1988:113). In general she distinguishes between pots consisting of one, two, three and four "sections". Some two-sectioned pots are biconical pots but the opposite is not always the case, which is why the term section is used. Most pots in Hjemsted are three-sectioned, meaning that they are biconical pots with a narrowing neck. Hence different pot shapes are: A-shape, B-shape, C-shape, E-shape, F-shape, G-shape, etc, C and G shape being three-sectioned pots with and without handles. Of simple combinations I have distinguished between graves with 1 and 2 pots and graves with 1 brooch, as well as graves with 2-4 brooches and 4-7 brooches. Another combination is rectangular and circular buckles where the latter, according to Ringtved (1988:145), shows a tendency to appear with females. Other artefacts are wooden buckets/containers, foil brooch, silver brooch, circular brooch, silver necklace, silver bead/silver, glass, glass bead, bone bead, bone needle, different numbers of amber beads, iron rivets, iron tweezers, iron needle, iron knife, clasps, cruciform brooch, spindle-whorl of clay, spindle-whorl of glass, bronze knife, bronze needle, bronze rivets, bronze ring >2cm, bronze fragment, belt buckle of bronze, bronze brooch, iron brooch, belt buckle of iron, flint, grinding stone, (see figs 4.7 and 4.8). Also the position of certain artefacts in the grave is monitored. Here the recording of space has been adopted and adapted from Härke's analyses (Härke 1992a:128) of Anglo Saxon graves (fig 4.3). Hence, A is in the top of the grave, C is in the middle and I is in the foot end of the grave, B and E are to the right of the body, D and G are to the left of the body. Here only the focus is on containers A-F and H-I, Jewellery A, B,C,D,F, H,I, belts C,H,F, knives A,F,C,D,H. Lastly the presence/absence of textile and the number of artefact types (NAT) is recorded. The NAT is recorded in order better to ascertain the relation between a pure quantitative analysis in comparison with a multivariate qualitative analysis. This relation may reveal the possibilities and limitations of both methods.

In sum, the analysis consists of c. 104 variables and c. 123 graves. All variables will not have value in this analysis and may be excluded accordingly as discussed in Chapter two. In this first analysis, all graves from Hjemsted have been seen as one entity of analysis, since they both in space and time appear within a well-defined area.

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[4] Defined as being less than 140 -150cms long. This definition is of course arbitrary but the lack of skeletons in Hjemsted requires that. Also one cannot exclude that children were buried in normal size graves (Sellevold et al. 1984:212).

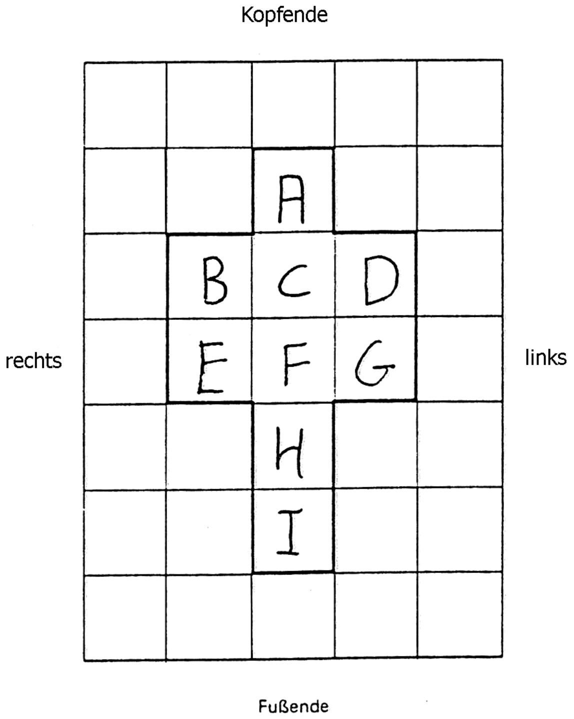

Fig 4.3. The location of artefacts in space, A, C, is the head end, F is central, H, I is foot end of grave. Model adopted from Härke 1992:128.

Analysis of all graves at Hjemsted

Before a CA analysis is run some general observations can be made about the Hjemsted cemetery. Firstly, at Hjemsted inhumation was the only recorded rite in the 3rd to 5th centuries. Additionally, there was a clear predominance of wnw-ese oriented graves though nw-se and e-w graves also were of some significance. In other words, a general e-w orientation with minor variation was dominant. The coffin type at Hjemsted, as in the rest of South Jutland, is the trunk coffin, dominating almost entirely over plank coffins (fig 4.4). As there are no skeletons preserved at Hjemsted only traces of the body could be observed in the graves. When visible, the body most often was placed on the right side. Totally absent at Hjemsted also are weapons. The predominant ornamentation on pots is linear and chevron decoration (fig 4.5) whereas stamp decoration was absent. Of pottery types at Hjemsted the biconical pot with 3 sections with and without handle, as defined by Ringtved (fig 4.2) as G and C types, were predominant (fig 4.6). This pattern is general in Jutland (Ringtved 1988). Most graves had at least one pot, whereas only 1/3 of the graves had 2 or more pots.

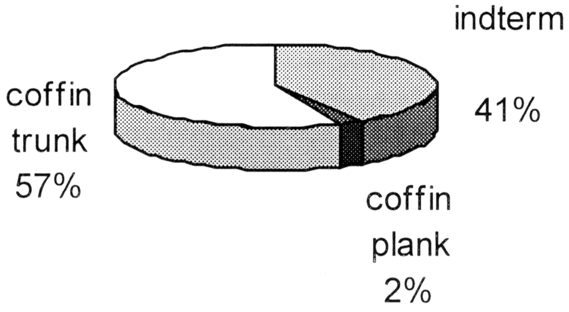

Fig. 4.4. Coffin types at Hjemsted, N=122.

"Male" and "female" graves and their status

Only 23% of the graves contained brooches. A general hypothesis for this period is that male graves often contain one brooch, whereas female graves contain two or more. The individual graves analysed from the multivariate analysis show, however, that only one male grave at Hjemsted contains one brooch. So at

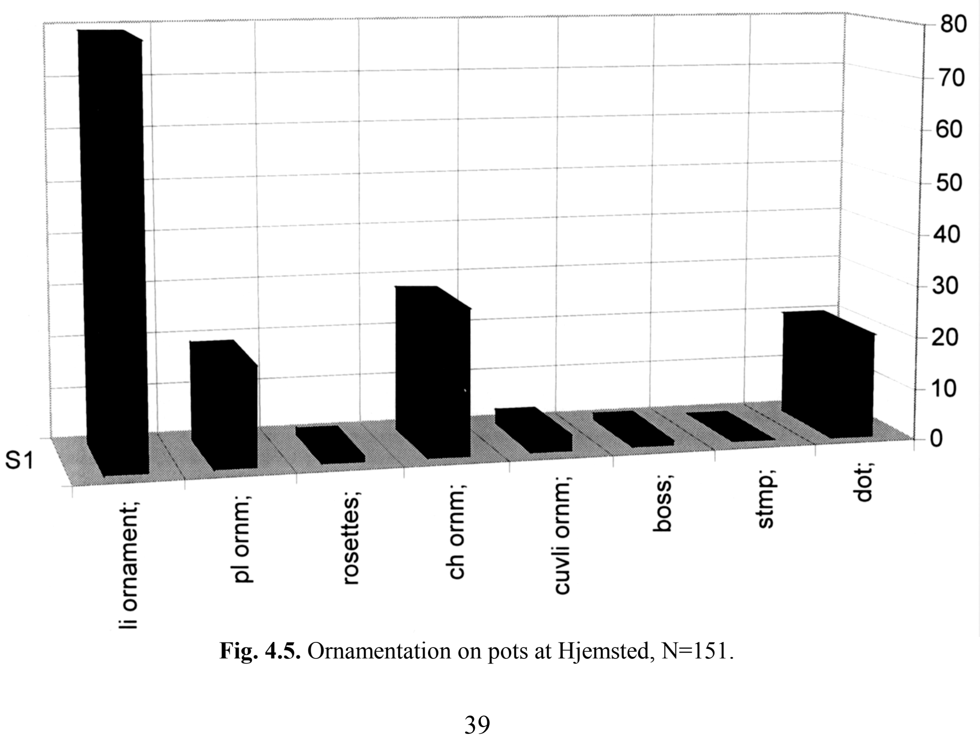

Fig. 4.5. Ornamentation on pots at Hjemsted, N=151.

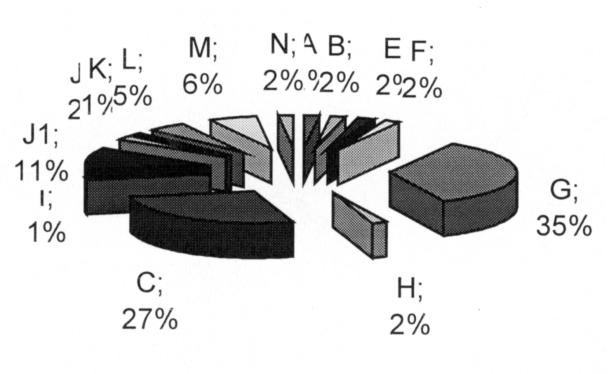

Fig. 4.6. Pottery types at Hjemsted, N=100.
(For definition of types see Ringtved 1988)

Hjemsted the multivariate analysis cannot substantiate a relationship between one brooch and male graves, though it does substantiate a relationship between more brooches and female graves. The identification of female and male graves is, however, not straightforward since skeletons are absent. However, estimation from combinations of artefacts where beads and brooches are present has made it likely from other cemeteries with bones (Sellevold et al.1984) to assume that these are women's graves. I shall return to the gendering of graves in the following.

At Hjemsted 84 % of all graves were furnished. Out of those graves an estimation of traditional "female" artefacts against "non-female" artefacts showed that 54 % belong in the female sphere. The population of graves here is, however, only 67 because 56 graves were eliminated, due to lack of finds.

Combination groups

Starting with the above assumptions of female and male graves and presuming that silver and gold is associated with status the following multivariate analysis may reject or substantiate the hypothesis. Combinations of material culture clustering together with female, male or neutral artefacts does this. Figure 4.7 is a scattergram from a multivariate CA analysis made on artefacts from all graves at Hjemsted. Here a tendency towards 3 groups of artefacts and graves all dividing around 0.0 is obvious. The group towards the left on the first axis contained among others, silver clasps and other special artefacts.

Female group A

This group could be interpreted as female, since spindle whorls are also present. Additionally, the sorted matrix developed from the plot (fig 4.8) confirms that this group of graves are rich female graves, because silver clasps can be associated with silver beads, special jewellery, more than 100 glass beads, 4-7 brooches etc. Thus, this group is here understood as being females in a high status category. This category I shall term category A.[5] This grouping also has a tendency to belong to the chronological phase D which means that there is a tendency towards a chronological grouping as well. Below I will explain my view on that pattern. There are no corresponding rich male category A graves because of the invisibility of male graves in general at Hjemsted. I will return to the problem of the invisibility of male graves.

Female group B

The female group B can be associated with fewer silver brooches, 10-50 amber beads, 50-100 glass beads, 2-4 brooches, 4-7 brooches, silver/gold ring, foil brooch, cruciform brooches, only partially more than 100 glass beads and silver necklace. This pattern is seen in fig 4.7 at the top of the plot. On the sorted matrix (fig 4.8) it is easier to see this group distinguish itself from group A. That this grouping reflects social and not chronological structure can be seen from the dating of the graves in the matrix which reveals that all chronological phases are present.

Indeterminable graves

To the right of the second axis a number of non-female artefacts indicates the presence of male graves. Here a majority of "poorer" artefacts and iron tools such as iron brooch, iron knife, belt buckle of iron, as well as 2 or more pots appear. Interestingly, in a multivariate analysis from Hjemsted neither circular nor rectangular belt buckle types can clearly be associated with females and it seems that belt buckles, of whatever form, are non-female artefacts. This does not correspond with the tendency proposed by Ringtved (1988:145).[6] The presence of knives and two or more pots in both female and non-female graves indicate that they hold no gender specific significance. Thus, graves hjsl1128 to hji16538 and graves hj214 to hj 1408 must in fact be neutral graves. I shall return to these graves below. It is here sufficient to emphasise that the male population at Hjemsted is quite invisible. Additionally, a female group C and D and a male group A, B, C and D is virtually non existent.

Most of the gendering of graves from the multivariate analysis corresponds well with the gendering of graves made previously by Ringtved. Ringtved identified grave hj292 as female, which I accept although I did not include it in my analysis because it was cut in half. Ringtved has assessed grave hj311 as male, probably because of the square buckle. In the multivariate analysis this seems quite likely as well. I have interpreted grave hj118 as

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[5] Ringtved (1988:145ff) has distinguished between four categories by her called category 1-4. In order to illustrate that those two categories are not identical though quite similar I shall distinguish between category A-D. The reason our analyses are not identical is that I have implemented multivariate analyses, whereas Ringtved has analysed the material manually. If one accepts the CA as revealing more tendencies than one can identify manually my analysis may be more refined. Ringtved has included a larger body of material. So her general conclusions may be more useful for the southern group of Jutland. But both analyses are right, if seen in the right terms and at the right level.

[6] The only alternative explanation could be that I have not defined the two types of belts as specifically as Ringtved. Alternatively, Ringtved's inclusion of a larger body of material may reveal another tendency.

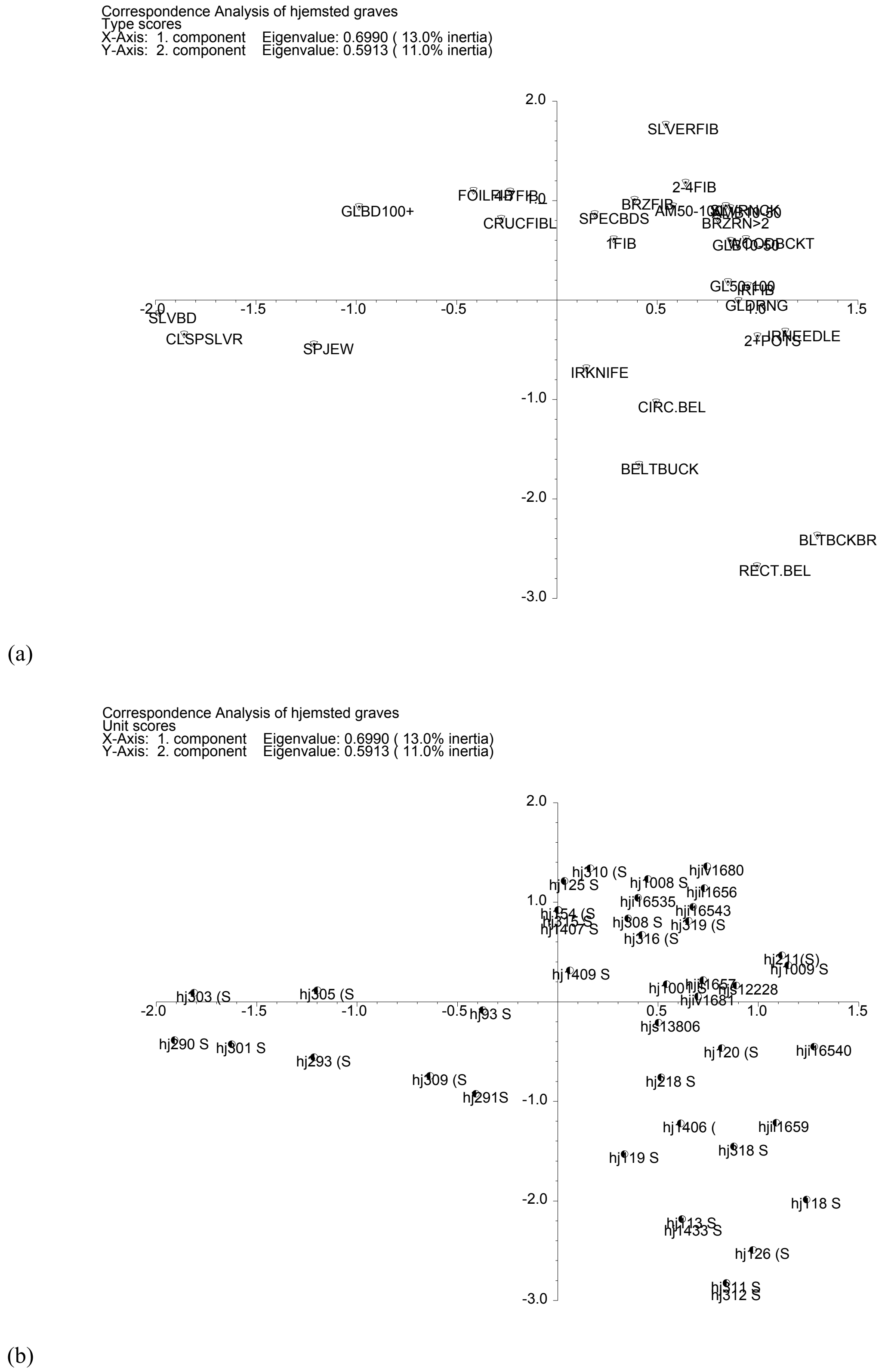


Fig 4.7. Scattergram of the Hjemsted graves (a) of the grave content and (b) of the graves.

SLVBD= Silver bead; CLSPSLVR= Clasp of silver; SPJEW= special jewellery; GLBD100+= Glass beads (100 or more); FOILFIB= foil brooch; 4-7 FIB= 4-7 brooches; CRUCFIBL= Cruciform brooch; SLVERFIB= silver brooch; 2-4FIB= 2-4 brooches; BRZFIB= bronze brooch; SLVNCK= silver necklace; AMB10-50= Amber beads (10-50). SPECBDS= special beads; AMB50-100= Amber beads (50-100);1FIB= 1 brooch; BRZRN>2= Bronze ring (> 2cm); GLB10-50= glass beads (10-50). WOODBCKT= Wooden bucket; GL50-100= Glass beads (50-100); IRFIB= Iron brooch; GLDRNG= Golden ring ; IRNEEDLE= Iron needle; 2+POTS= 2 (or more) pots. IRKNIFE= Ironknife; CIRCBEL=circular belt; BELTBUCK= belt buckle; BLTBCKBR (same of bronze); RECTBLT= Rectangular belt.

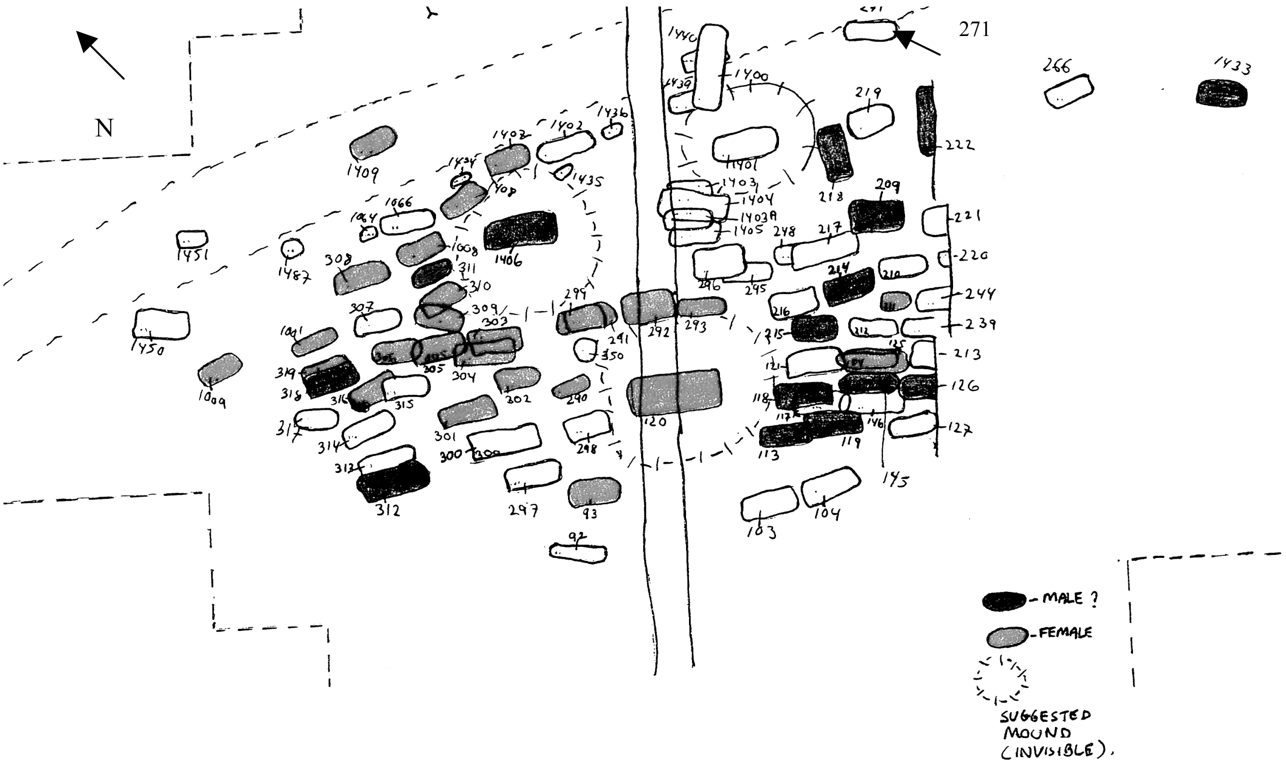
fig. 4.8		silverbead/silvr;	clasps silver;	spindle/glas;	glassbead 100+;	Spec.jewellery;	circ.silverfib;	bronzeneedle;	silverfibula;	amb10-50;	Glasbead 50-100;	2-4 fibler;	Bronzering>2cm;	slv/gldfingring;	bronzefibula;	amb50-100;	blikfibula;	cruciformfibl brz;	4-7 +orn.fibul;	special beads;	irontweezer;	glassbead 10-50;	woodbckt/bowl;	1 fibula;	Silvernecklace;	2+pots;	ironfibula;	ironknife;	ironneedle;	beltbuckle/iron;	circ.belt;	Boneneedle;	Rect. belt;	beltbuckle/bronze;	spindle/clay;	NAT;		
hj303 (S)	;	13	6		1	1									2		2		1																	7	-2.73	-0.44
hj290 S	;	1				1																														2	-2.65	-0.74
hj301 S	;	4	11			1												1						1				1		1	1					8	-2.39	-1.01
hj305 (S)	;	1		1		1														1																4	-2.02	-0.08
hj293 (S)	;	1				1																						1								3	-1.65	-0.88
hj309 (S)	;					1																						1								2	-0.74	-0.85
hj93 S	;		1															1						1				2								4	-0.69	-0.22
hj291S	;	1	1			1																						5		1	1					6	-0.49	-1.31
hjiv16805	;								3	1		1														1										4	0.82	2.59
hjii16568	;						1					1	1		2																					4	0.53	2.48
hji16528	;												1																							1	0.81	2.47
hj125 S	;							1				1						2																		3	-0.59	2.26
hjii16572	;										1		1	2	1					1				1												6	0.61	1.93
hj310 (S)	;				1				3				1		3	1	3		1	1								1								8	-0.14	1.75
hjiv16809	;												1		1									1												3	0.4	1.75
hjiv16810	;					1				1	1	1	1		2											1										7	0.48	1.73
hj1008 S	;														4				1				1													3	0.28	1.61
hji16535 (s)	;														1									1												2	0.2	1.39
hjii16570	;														1									1												2	0.2	1.39
hj154 (S)	;																	1						1												2	-0.46	1.24
hj315 S	;																	1						1												2	-0.46	1.24
hj1407 S	;																	1						1												2	-0.46	1.24
hji16543 (s)	;																			1			1													2	0.68	1.24
hjii16569	;														1								1	1	1											4	0.66	1.21
hjii16596	;																						1													1	1.29	1.18
hj308 S	;											1					2					1	1					1								5	0.14	1.12
hj319 (S)	;											1			3	1									1	1		1								6	0.66	1.1
hj211(S)	;												1									1							1							3	1.32	0.84
hj316 (S)	;														4	1			1	1	1							2	1							7	0.4	0.83
hj1009 S	;																						2			1										2	1.55	0.67
hjiv16813	;					1						1			4	1						1				1		1		1			1			9	0.53	0.45
hj1409 S	;																	1						1				1								3	-0.19	0.44
hj1001 S	;														1									1		1		1								4	0.7	0.32
hj120 (S)	;													1												1		1								3	1.18	0.19
hjs12228	;																							1		1	1									3	1.29	-0.06
hjs13806	;												1		1									1				1		1	1					6	0.57	-0.08
hjs11128	;																									1										1	2.05	-0.35
hj222 (S)	;																									1										1	2.05	-0.35
hjs3486	;																									1										1	2.05	-0.35
hjs8358	;																									1										1	2.05	-0.35
hjs20643 (s)	;																									1										1	2.05	-0.35
hji16529	;																									1										1	2.05	-0.35
hji16538	;																									1										1	2.05	-0.35
hjii16574	;																			1					1					1	1					4	0.72	-0.6
hji16540	;																									1			1							2	2.13	-0.78
hj218 S	;																									1		2								2	0.92	-0.89
hjiv16811	;																							1		1	1	1		1			1			6	1.15	-1.05
hj214 S	;																											1								1	0.35	-1.16
hjs2045(s)	;																											1								1	0.35	-1.16
hj145 S	;																											1								1	0.35	-1.16
hj209 S	;																											1								1	0.35	-1.16
hj215 S	;																											1								1	0.35	-1.16
hj304 S	;																											1								1	0.35	-1.16
hj302 S	;																											1								1	0.35	-1.16
hj1408 S	;																											1								1	0.35	-1.16
hj271 S	;																												1							1	2.22	-1.2
hjiv16814 (s)	;																						1					1	1	2	1		1			6	1.2	-1.53
hj119 S	;																											1		1						2	0.63	-1.63
hj1406 (S)	;																									1		1		1	1	1				5	1.19	-1.76
hj113 S	;																											1		1			1			3	1.01	-2.04
hj1433 S	;																											1		1			1			3	1.01	-2.04
hj318 S	;																									1		1			1			1		4	1.49	-2.06
hj311 S	;																													1			1			2	1.33	-2.48
hj312 S	;																													1			1			2	1.33	-2.48
hj126 (S)	;																											1					1	1		3	1.57	-2.76
hj118 S	;																									1			1		1		1	2	1	6	2.18	-2.82
hjii16594	;																														1			1		2	1.78	-3.37
		-2.07	-1.94	-1.7	-1.21	-1.09	0.44	-0.49	0.29	0.54	0.46	0.31	0.48	0.67	0.17	0.3	-0.67	-0.61	-0.46	0.04	0.34	0.56	0.77	0.06	0.57	1.22	1.02	0.21	1.32	0.54	0.58	1	1.05	1.54	1.83			
		-0.54	-0.71	-0.08	0.57	-0.31	2.18	1.98	1.9	1.9	1.61	1.47	1.41	1.19	1.01	0.91	0.83	0.82	0.82	0.74	0.73	0.71	0.68	0.57	0.5	-0.2	-0.48	-0.66	-0.68	-1.19	-1.42	-1.54	-1.63	-2.43	-2.47			

Fig. 4.8

male (fig 4.8 and 4.9). But the presence of a spindle-whorl makes it strange. In my sorted analysis the combinations of artefacts place the grave far beyond normal female artefact combinations. Possibly this deviance may be explained by the fact that grave hj118 was disturbed by grave hj117 which from the stratigraphy lies underneath. Thus the spindle-whorl must have belonged to grave hj117 instead. Ringtved has seen grave hj1001 as a male grave. On the basis of the artefact combinations the multivariate analysis places this grave safely within the female artefact combinations. As there are no gender specific artefacts here, suggesting neither male nor female, I suggest that my combination analysis is better. The very small deviance between the multivariate analysis and Ringtved's analyses does not disturb the overall picture of a clear gendered division of cemetery III.

Symbolic status groups (fig 4.10)

As implied above the multivariate analysis is able to add a few more artefacts that can be associated with females or males. Comparing my category A among females with Ringtved's category 1 it is obvious that category A graves correspond with Ringtved's category 1 graves. In her category there appear clasps, special jewellery, buckets and 4-5 brooches. This is also the case in category A graves of Hjemsted, except that there are few buckets represented. The few buckets may be due to bad preservation of wood at Hjemsted. The presence of a bucket in category B suggests, however, that buckets were not exclusively connected with high status graves, especially not in the early phase. In Ringtved's category 2, gold finger rings and silver finger rings appear as well as in my category B. Also 2-4 brooches as well as many


N
271
266
1433
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221
220
214
244
239
213
126
127
1406
1409
1436
1435
1451
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1487
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297
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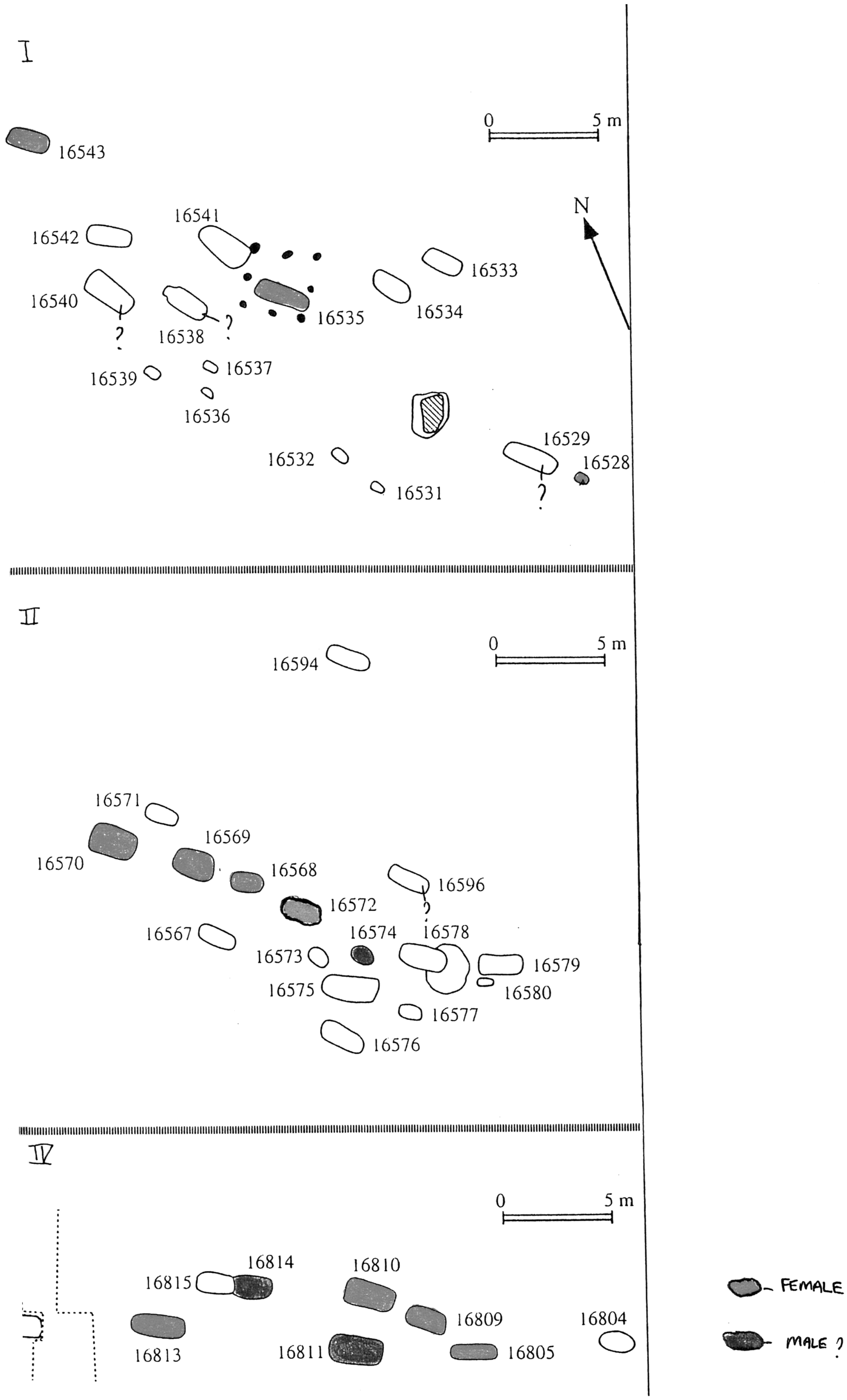
92
290
291
292
293
295
296
298
350
120
113
119
117
118
115
116
103
104
145
1400
1401
1403
1404
1405
248
217
MALE ?
FEMALE
SUGGESTED MOUND (INVISIBLE).

Fig 4.9a. Plan of the Hjemsted cemetery III and the gendered graves. (Plans from Ethelberg 1986).


I
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5 m
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16540
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16537
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16529
16528
?
II
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5 m
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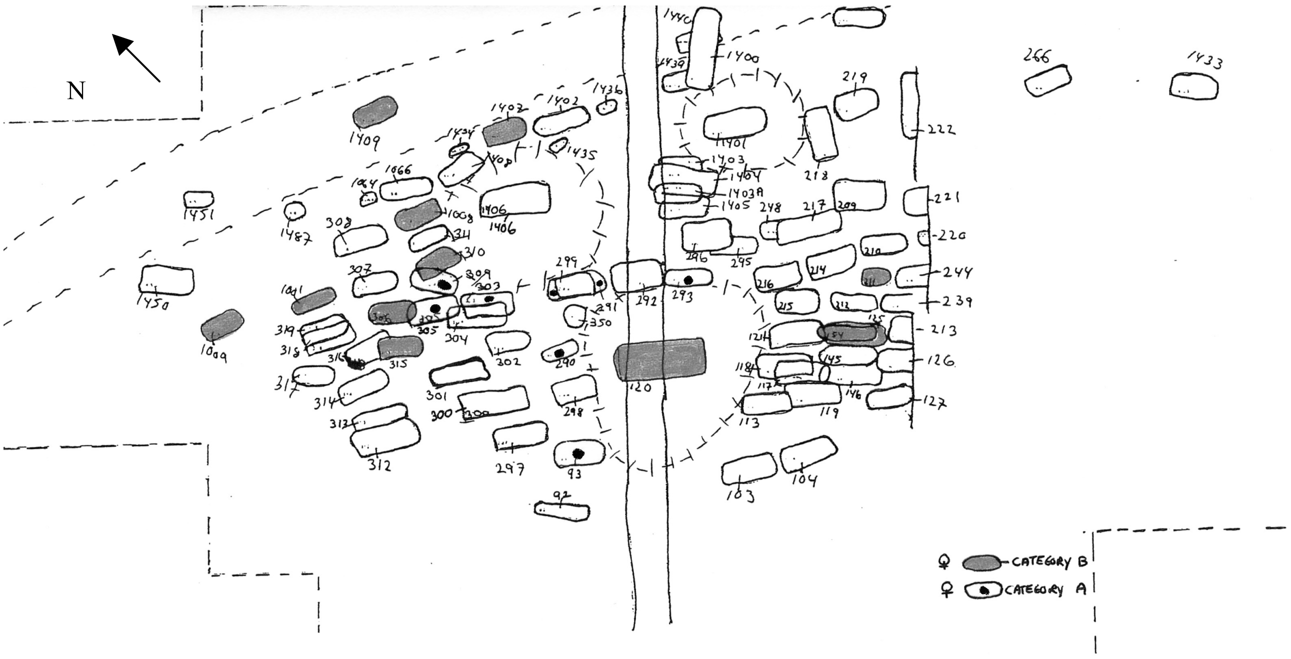
16571
16570
16569
16568
16572
16567
16573
16574
16575
16596
16578
16579
16580
16577
16576
IV
0
5 m
16815
16814
16810
16813
16811
16809
16805
16804
FEMALE
MALE ?

Fig 4.9b. Plan of cemeteries I, II and IV, and the graves that are gendered.

beads concur. As mentioned it has not been possible to identify a category C among female graves. Ringtved's analysis of phase D[7] graves which are mainly contemporary with the majority of the Hjemsted graves suggest that category 3 disappears in phase D. Ringtved's category 3 consists of needles, belt buckles, 1 brooch as well as spindle-whorls. These artefacts are also present in my analysis and are placed in the periphery of my scattergram, suggesting that they are not clear markers of gender in graves. But in my analysis they seem to continue into phase D, though in Ringtved's phase d not even a larger amount of material is able to identify a category 3 in phase D. I suggest that most of the graves in my category C are males. In sum, my analysis corresponds well with the categories identified by Ringtved for female graves, even though I have not subdivided the Hjemsted material into as narrow chronological phases.

Children and adults at Hjemsted

At Hjemsted only 13% of the graves are children's graves. Taking the individual cemetery groups II, I and IV, Ethelberg suggests that 28,5%, 40% and 33% children's graves were present (1990:101) whereas the percentage of child graves at cemetery III is only 7%. It is important that all numbers lie under the expected rate of around 50% (Sellevold et al. 1984:208) suggesting that either children's graves have disappeared later, or they have never been constructed. Because of good post-depositional circumstances at Hjemsted, Ethelberg suggests the latter and his interpretation is that children were not given formal burial. Since the smallest grave is around 35 cm, supposedly containing a baby, it seems that age was not always a determining factor for getting buried, though on the Skovgårde cemetery at Sjælland where 22 % children's graves were present, the youngest child was 5 years old (Ethelberg 1990: 101). So maybe here an age limit *was* a determining factor.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312
301
300
298
297
93
92
120
1440
1439
1400
219
222
1401
218
1403
1404
1403A
1405
248
217
209
221
220
296
295
210
214
216
211
244
215
212
239
135
54
213
121
145
126
118
117
146
127
113
119
103
104
266
1433
♀ CATEGORY B
♀ CATEGORY A

Fig 4.10a. Plan of the Hjemsted cemetery III and graves divided according to status category. (Plans from Ethelberg 1986).

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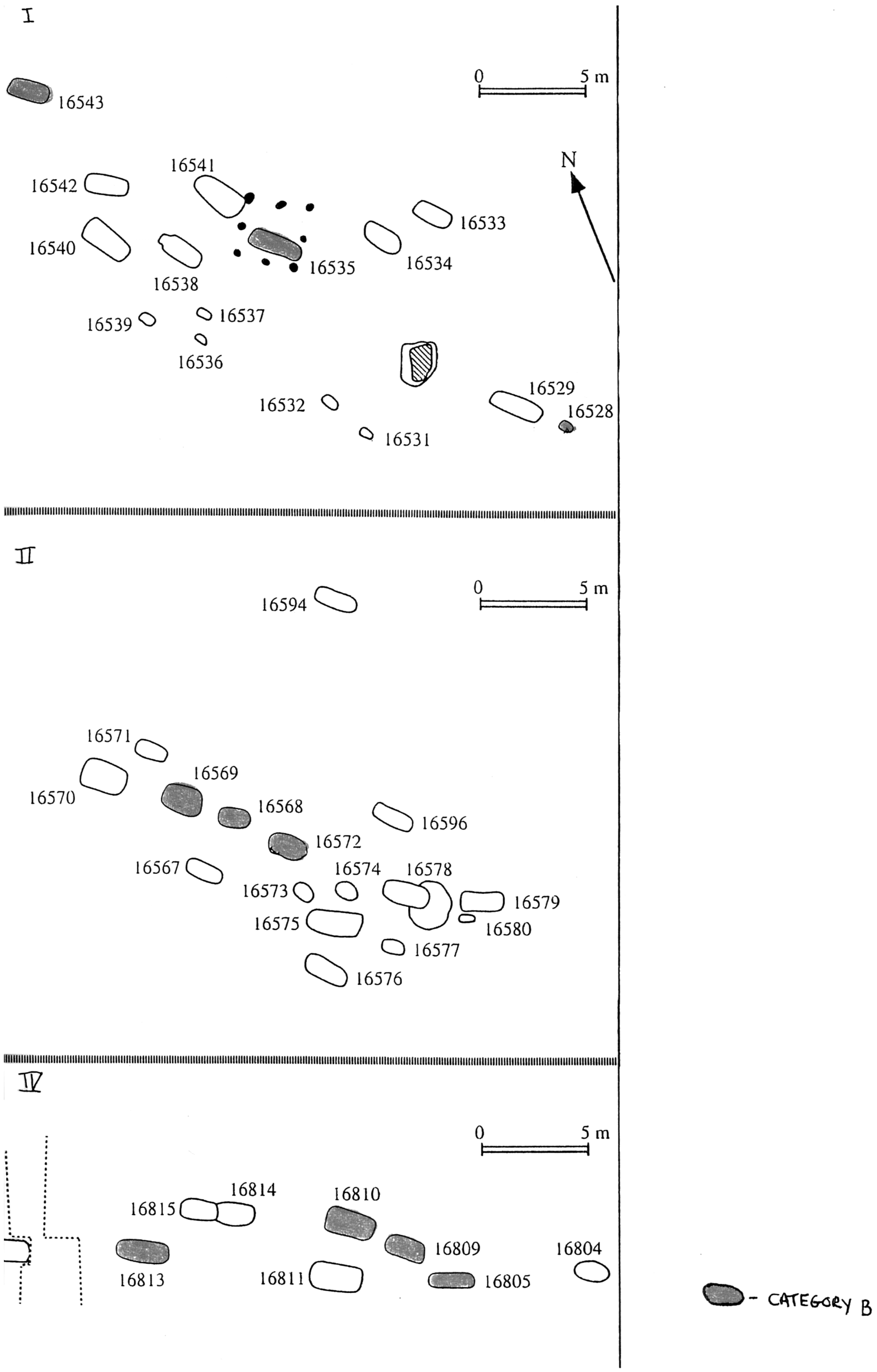
[7] Her relative phase d on pottery (Ringtved 1988:141) One should be aware of the difference between her relative pottery phase d and Eggers' absolute chronological phase D on a number of combinations of artefacts.


I
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5 m
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16596
16572
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16574
16578
16573
16579
16575
16580
16577
16576
IV
0
5 m
16815
16814
16810
16813
16809
16804
16811
16805
- CATEGORY B

Fig 4.10b. Plan of Hjemsted cemeteries I, II and IV and the graves that could be identified according to status category. (Plans from Ethelberg 1990).

At Hjemsted the social background of a child could have been one of the factors for getting buried. In contrast to Ethelberg (1990:101), I suggest that the sex of the child could have been another factor since only 22% of the child graves were females. Comparing this pattern with the general overrepresentation of adult female graves, a different burial behaviour among children than among adults is obvious. However, the sum of children's graves at 18 makes the material and hence the conclusions very limited.

Against this tendency speaks the high representation of females in general. This does not suggest that women were neglected in ritual or in reality, though it does not really demonstrate that more female children were allowed to stay alive. That children's graves had internal status is implied by the fact that the most materially rich graves belong to females (e.g., graves Hj211, hji16528, hjii16574). In sum, female graves reflect a high social position among adults, but among the children there is not a corresponding overrepresentation of females, suggesting that fewer female children were buried. Those female children who were buried had a high status, suggesting that they belonged to the elite[8].

61% of children's graves were not furnished. This pattern varies from the pattern among adults where only 16 % were unfurnished. In other words, grave goods did not matter as much among children as among adults, though in general many child graves seem to be small adult graves as far as combinations are concerned. Interestingly, in a child grave there appeared a silver necklace, the only one at Hjemsted, indicating that status was indeed expressed among children.

Place of artefacts

Most knives in the graves are placed on the body, whereas the majority of containers, defined as pots and buckets, were placed either at the head or foot end of the body. Not surprisingly, most jewellery is placed at the centre of the body, as is also the case with belt buckles. The types of pots did not reveal a pattern that could place them safely within a certain category except for the J1 types (fig 4.2) that mainly belong to the poorer graves. Interestingly, those types of pots are not found at all in the category A. Only in very few cases does the ornamentation exclusively belong to certain groups. Thus no undecorated pots were ever found in the rich category A graves.

Chorological structures at Hjemsted and in Southern Jutland

That cemeteries in Jutland can be divided into sections consisting of male and female groups is not new (Ringtved 1988: 189). However, Ethelberg (1990) disagrees and suggests that the structure of the cemeteries was that of a family, that is, consisting of small groups of graves, as is the case with cemeteries I, II and IV at Hjemsted. This interpretation is inspired by analyses by Jørgensen (1988) of graves on the Baltic island of Bornholm.

In Jutland the multivariate analysis of cemetery III suggests, however, a clear division of graves into female and male sections (fig 4.9a). Most female graves are placed in the centre, close to the presumed barrows, and most male graves are placed towards the east. Additionally, all high status female graves are placed in the centre with a tendency towards the west (fig 4.10a), whilst graves without furnishings are placed on the periphery of the cemetery. In my view, there is a clear gendered and social division of space at cemetery III at Hjemsted. The reason for this division is not to be explained by chronological factors alone, as seen by the scattered dates in the matrix. It is also difficult to substantiate the alternative interpretation of the cemetery as a palimpsest of three smaller family cemeteries. Additionally, if my gendering of graves is correct, Ethelberg's proposed cemetery VI would consist of mainly females, whereas cemetery V would consist of mainly males. This does not correspond with a family cemetery where an equal distribution is to be expected. Admittedly, an overrepresentation of females could be explained by the fact that more women die young in non-industrial societies (Sellevold 1984:207), but the overrepresentation of males cannot be explained on that account. In short, cemetery III is better explained as a large cemetery divided in space by gender and social factors.

An alternative explanation

The above oppositions need not, however, be contradictory. Alternatively, they may be explained as different ways of interring the dead according to social concepts. The first burial ritual is in a large cemetery dividing the area according to gender with the high status (mainly female) graves placed centrally and the unfurnished graves appearing in the periphery. The second ritual is that of small family cemeteries, and the third is that of single graves. Interestingly, high status category A graves are only present at cemetery III. Though category A is a late phenomenon, it suggests that cemetery III was the burial ground for the elite and its household, whilst family cemeteries I, II and IV consisted of less important families. The few children's graves at cemetery III, only 7 %, could thus be explained as reflecting a high status family which has relatively fewer people that reproduce, because the servants presumably do not marry, or do not get their children buried. That cemetery III is the oldest suggests that it could be the more important. In short, I suggest that cemetery III contains persons from the leading farm unit and its household. That category A mainly appears at the beginning of phase D can be explained by the fact that the high status farm invented new status symbols at the beginning of phase D. Such a phenomenon of emulation has also been identified ethnographically by Miller (1985:186). In other words, maybe an internal competition initiated this new category A group at the beginning of phase D, a phase where also other find categories suggest a concentration of power. This pattern in general is substantiated by Ringtved's analyses of the imported material at Sejlflod. Here, she suggests that prestigious drinking sets became limited to the highest level (Ringtved 1991:65) in the LRIA/EGIA.

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[8] Elite is here a relative term used within the site.

Also interesting is that at the "less rich" cemeteries I, II and IV there are no category A combinations, (fig 4.9b and 4.10b) which of course is partly for chronological reasons, whilst category B and unfurnished graves are present. That there appear contemporary graves as well as a different layout at both cemetery III and the family cemeteries suggest a difference that may be explained by mainly social factors. In general, it is hard to say whether category A contains higher status than category B, but the fact that category A graves are fewer suggests that this is so. Additionally, chorological analysis supports this hypothesis. Interestingly, the average NAT value on category A graves is 4.5 whereas it is 3.7 in category B. It is interesting in that context that in the sorted matrix high NAT numbers also appear in a group that in a CA has been termed poor. Thus, it is here evident that NAT or other quantitative scores cannot alone be used as a means for spotting rich and poor graves. Only in comparison with combination analyses the mean NAT value is useful as a guideline.

Another interesting pattern from Hjemsted is the presence of single graves scattered over the hilltop (fig 4.1d). The multivariate analysis indicates that all single graves except two appear in the group that can be termed "neutrals". This means that they do not contain any gender or socially specific artefact combinations. One interpretation for that could be that the graves did not fall under the normal convention of gender and status. Probable explanations could be that the interred persons in single graves were homosexuals, witches, witchdoctors, outcasts or other kind of "special" persons. That a phenomenon of social outcasts is known in this particular cultural tradition is indicated in the Beowulf poem and its description of the Grendel "monster" as outlined in Chapter one. The excavator (Ethelberg 1990:107) also noticed that the graves were special. That the majority of J1 type pots belong to these graves supports the exceptional status of the single graves. What one should notice is that all single graves cluster together. Interestingly, in that context is that in the sorted matrix they appear very close to the neutral graves, thus indicating similarity in the combinations of material. In short, this structure suggests that all single graves for some reason were "outstanding", though not in terms of high status. Only future analyses of totally excavated cemeteries with skeletons preserved may reveal the reason for this interesting pattern at Hjemsted.

Discussion of demographic aspects

There has been much discussion of the demography of past populations, especially by Acsádi & Nemeskéri (1970) and Chapman and Randsborg (1981:20). There are a number of criteria that need to be present for making the analysis realistic. Ideally one should know whether:

- All graves have been defined and dug.
- They have all been preserved.
- All inhabitants were buried on site.
- Age and sex can be assessed.
- Another important matter is the time of use as well as the continuity of use.

Obviously there are a number of uncertainties with the method because information on age and sex may be lacking, requiring that it be imported from elsewhere. On sites as Hjemsted as well as other cemeteries in western Denmark information on age and sex is lacking because of the acidic soil. Additionally, it is apparent that children are underrepresented. Though as mentioned a certain approximation can be made with a specific grave material if the site is totally excavated and well preserved. In other cases where this is not so, calculations may serve as an indication of the average *minimum number of persons* at the site. Though as demonstrated in Sejlflod, Nielsen (1991:112ff) has carried this study far and in my view successfully, in that he was able to demonstrate to a high probability that the site was totally excavated and preserved. Hjemsted offers the same conditions for making such calculations.

There are many discussions as to which formula is best. Acsádi and Nemeskéri, a demographer and anthropologist, have worked with the following formula:

$$P = k + a \times b/c$$

Here P is population, k is a correction factor of 10 %, a is the number of dead, b is the average life expectancy and c is the number of years the cemetery was in use. An alternative formula is the one developed by the Swedish national economist C.H. Siven (1982:39):

$$Bt = 1/T \times BT \times 1000/d$$

Bt is the living population in year t. T is the time of use. BT is the number of graves and d is the mortality per thousand. The main difference between the two formulas is that Acsádi and Neméski use a correction factor of 10%. There is, however no explanation for that factor, which is why it is not used here nor in the analysis by J. Nielsen (1991:118). Since neither mortality rate nor the life of newborn can be assessed both formulas give the same result. These calculations are also discussed in Nielsen (1992:127).

Demography on Hjemsted

With the formula by Acsádi and Neméski (1970) we may get an idea of the size of the households at Hjemsted. Eliminating all graves from the long phase B makes the sum of graves 62 at cemetery III and the number of years 200. From the entire bone material of Denmark Sellevold et al. (1984:207) has calculated the average life expectancy to be 37.6 years. This average age has been criticised for not accounting for a higher mortality rate among children of ca 35 per thousand (Donat & Ullrich 1971:237). Thus, the average life expectancy among new born may be only 28 years. Among adults it is probably around 40 years, given studies from the 18th century where the conditions were not entirely different (Siven 1982:39).

Bearing this discussion in mind the formula from Hjemsted looks like this: 62 x 28/ 200 = 8.68 persons. This means that a household of a chiefly farm consisted of around 9 persons. Given that children are underrepresented at Hjemsted and that children in an Iron Age society make up 40 % of the population, one should add 40%. This number has been reached from investigations assessed by Acsádi et al (1970:236-51) on the basis of representative material from European cemeteries from the Iron Age and Middle Ages. Thus the number in cemetery III may be 12 people on average.

Compared with the family cemeteries which here are taken without the single graves the sum is 41 graves. Thus the formula looks like this 41 x 28/ 230 = 4.9, meaning that the family size of all three family graves has included only 5-7 persons a number which is significantly lower than the 9 -12 persons at cemetery III. A calculation of all the graves over the entire period of 230 years including the number of children gives a population of 21 people (123 x 28 / 230 = 15 + 40%= 20.9) in Hjemsted as a whole. Given that a household may be of about 8-12 people that gives 2-3 households.

Ethelberg used the same formula and divided the population according to chronology. He included all graves except the single graves. In phase C he calculated the population at Hjemsted to be 16 persons. In phase D the number was 27 persons (Ethelberg 1990:107ff). This does not contradict my calculations that over 230 years there lived 21 persons in average at Hjemsted.

If it is accepted that the persons at Hjemsted were divided into 3 grave groups. 1) The high prestige cemetery III which is the oldest and 2) the 3 smaller family cemeteries and 3) the single graves, we are in theory to expect around 2 - 3 households. The first is the prestigious and consists in average of about 12 persons. The second household consists of the "outsiders" of the single graves. It may have consisted of only a small poor family. Alternatively they were a part of any of the other two families, which were buried separately. The third is a family consisting of around 7 persons which over 230 years buried its relatives in three different places, thus creating cemeteries I, II and IV. It seems that one family cemetery succeeds the other. Thus, cemetery II is the oldest, spanning over phase C1b1 and C1b, which in absolute dates is around AD 220-250. This cemetery is succeeded by cemetery IV which may overlap a generation, but in general it is a little later in that it spans from C1b and C2, around 220-320 AD. Finally, cemetery I is the latest with graves spanning from C2 to C3 around 250-375 AD. Bearing the problems of fine chronology in mind it seems that the cemeteries succeed each other. In phase D the households may start integrating their graves into one cemetery, the large cemetery III, where the majority of graves is to be placed in phase D. Alternatively, people are not interred the same way. Thus, it is only the people from the leading farm who bury their dead in a way visible to us, a pattern which is seen in the rest of Denmark (Hedeager 1992:101). Interesting then is that status group A graves appear in this phase, suggesting that an elite takes over a ritual at the site underlining a pattern of competitive emulation (Renfrew 1996:127).

Conclusion and perspectives

If it is acceptable that cemetery III is divided into a male and female section, it indicates that it mattered to demonstrate values such as gender among the elite in the later Roman Iron Age. Perhaps towards the end of phase C3, gender and wealth was more important than family in Hjemsted as evidenced by cemetery III. If females were those who represented wealth in the family, this must be the reason why they are the most visible in the ritual. The contemporary family cemeteries I, II and IV also confirm that family mattered, though a gendered division from the present material is impossible. That the low-scale family-based society was declining and replaced by a more stratified society is, firstly, indicated by the unfurnished graves in the periphery of all cemeteries, secondly by the appearance of status group B in phase C and category A graves at cemetery III in phase D. The different burial rituals among high status folk at cemetery III and family graves at cemeteries I,II and IV suggest that each household in the beginning had their own cemetery, where among the elite there were certain combinations of material culture or symbols (category B) as well as different places in space that underlined their status. That this structure is intensified in phase D (by category A) is indicated by the fact that the small family cemeteries cease to exist and by the emulation of the material culture that developed into category A combinations.

Ideally one has to look at other contemporary finds. In the preliminary publication of the farmhouses Ethelberg does not deny that there could have been at least two, maybe three contemporary farms (Ethelberg 1988:131). Ethelberg suggests a linear model where four contemporary farm units move from west towards to east (Ethelberg 1988:152). It is difficult to see from the preliminary plans whether this model can be applied or not. This is why it will only be discussed briefly. From the analysis of graves it does not seem that there were four contemporary houses, only two or three, though the possibility that in phase D there were more than three cannot be rejected.

Other contemporary sites

Looking at other contemporary sites such as Sejlflod in Northern Jutland, a similar pattern in the cemetery is evident. Using the same formula Nielsen reached a number of 33 persons at Sejlflod, including children ca. 55 persons. Nielsen (1991:123) suggests that the household contained 12-14 persons at Sejlflod. This gives us 4-6 contemporary farms, suggesting that this is a small settlement. Using 8-12 persons as a typical farm in

Hjemsted only just fits with the calculations from the graves. Because if it is true that there are 2-3 contemporary farmsteads this implies that either the average household was only 4-6, or that there were only 2 contemporary houses at Hjemsted, making Hjemsted a small settlement.

Comparing the number of graves at Sejlflod and Hjemsted also suggests that Sejlflod was more important than Hjemsted, because of the number and variety of imports at Sejlflod (Ringtved 1991:47ff). Here glass imports from the Pontic region as well as the western Roman provinces were found as well as "cross potent small-long brooches" which may have an English or Frisian prototype, if not origin[9]. As in Hjemsted, Ringtved was able to demonstrate a number of combination categories in northern Jutland that imply status in Sejlflod as well as in the entire northern area (Ringtved 1988). Here it is clear that the highest status category (category 1) consists of special containers such as buckets and glasses, pots of type M, miniature pots and beads in female graves (Ringtved 1988:156). In male graves we have combinations of arrowheads and golden rings (category 1), whereas the poorer categories contain combinations with combs, pots and strike-a-lights (Ringtved 1988:154). In the later phase the imported finds such as glass appear more exclusively in fewer graves and in female rich graves (category 1) we now have combinations with 3-4 brooches, bronze and silver finger rings. In the poorer graves (e.g., category 3) combinations with belts and clasps are present (Ringtved 1988:162). In male graves, buckets and other items connected to drinking service is still found among the high status combinations (category 1) (ibid:1988: 163), whereas clasps are found in the poorer categories (e.g., category 3). As mentioned the ideal of drinking is connected to high status environments. This pattern is supported by my analysis from Hjemsted as well as Ringtved's (1988:178ff) analysis of southern Jutish graves in general.

On Fyn the pattern generally diverges substantially from that of Jutland and Sjælland. The large cemetery of Møllegårdsmarken is the main source for the cemeteries at Fyn (Albrectsen 1971). Møllegårdsmarken has been analysed by Christoffersen (1987). Its position in the middle of the Gudme-Lundeborg area has made it an interesting site. The cemetery dates from the LpRIA and fades out in the LRIA, though the finer chronology has not been assessed. There are more than 2000 graves at the cemetery, mainly cremation graves. The results from the analysis can only be seen as preliminary as the bone reports were not available. From his analysis Christoffersen (1987:91) found a tendency towards eight combination groups, though the statistical analyses available then could not define them to a significant degree. As there was no assessment of the bones the artefact combinations may also be a mix-up of female and male grave groups. There were eight combination groups.

- His first group consisted of imported bronzes glass cups and coins.
- The second group had brooches, nails, strap holders and mounts and S-clasps.
- In the next group there were rings, berlocks, and other pendant jewellery as well as beads.
- In the next there were combs, tweezers, and ear-spoon.
- The fifth group had razor, knife, needle, spindle-whorl, hone stone, awl, and weapons.
- The sixth group consisted of keys, and needle holder and other fragments.
- The seventh group had more than one pot.
- The last group had only one pot.

It is clear that these groups are mixed up and a correlation of the combinations of sex and age awaits analysis. As shall be seen there are, however, some similarities and tendencies that agree with the analysis of Spong Hill in Chapter eight. Christoffersen also assessed a status group of seven groups based on the number of artefacts found in the grave. This analysis also awaits substantiation in the future.

On Bornholm analysis has been implemented at a number of cemeteries such as Grødbygård, Slusegård, Bækkegård and Lousgård. The pattern from here was quite similar to those in Hjemsted and Sejlflod in terms of demography, but it showed a different spatial distribution of gender. At Grødbygård that is dated to mainly the LRIA, Jørgensen analyses 235 graves. By using the same formula as above he reaches a population of 33 people over the 255 years the cemetery was in use. He does not implement the correction factor of 40 %, because children are well represented here (Jørgensen 1988:26). Neither does he use the average life expectancy rate of children of 28 but the average life expectancy rate of 37.6. In reality however, if one adds 40 % to the average life expectancy of 28 the result ends up almost the same using an average life expectancy of 37.6 (Nielsen 1992:127).

On the basis of a fine chronology Jørgensen divides the Grødbygård cemetery into three phases reflecting three generations from C1a to C2. As both genders are present in each group he identifies the groups as representing four different families (Jørgensen 1988: 25-26). This pattern continues into phase II where there are also four families, though the picture disintegrates in phase III. In each of these phases he demonstrates that four family groups are present. A similar pattern is detectable at the Slusegård cemetery[10]. Here the average number of persons is estimated to be 22.1 individuals over 255 years. Also there are three family groups distinguished where there is only one from C1a to C1b. But around C2 it is not possible to distinguish family groups. At both Grødbygård as well as Slusegård there was a pattern of eight interments per generation, supporting the pattern from other parts of the country that a farm unit consisted of a minimum of 7-8 persons and the richer farms consisting according to his analyses of 12-13 persons. Apparently, in each group only one person has been buried with prestigious goods. This pattern is supported by also later cemeteries such as Bækkegård and Lousgård (Jørgensen 1988:16ff and Jørgensen 1990) from the GIA until at least the LGIA. Jørgensen's way of assessing wealth has been criticised by others as being too general. His contention that from C1a to C2 each family consists of a primary spouse, other adult members and children reflecting *internal* status within the family as well as *external status* between the families, can, however, be supported by the facts at a general level. The fact that the richest graves fluctuate between being male and female implies, according to Jørgensen (1988:39), a system of inheritance where only one person gets prestigious goods into the grave. This pattern deviates from, say Hjemsted and Sejlflod in Jutland, where mainly females have their wealth deposited and displayed, pointing to a different system of inheritance and rite.

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[9] These suggest that the occupation at Sejlflod continued a generation or more than at Hjemsted.

[10] The entire Slusegård cemetery consists of 1450 graves.

As on Hjemsted and Sejlflod also on Bornholm one can distinguish between a) large farms (e.g., Slusegård A1-III) b) ordinary farms (e.g., Slusegård A1-I) c) and small farms (e.g., Grødbygård I and IVa), a pattern which is supported over the entire south Scandinavian area. The pattern of family graves goes into at least the LGIA and is thus visible longer on Bornholm than in Jutland. Due to a lack of cemeteries in Jutland this does not, however, allow us to make the conclusion that the family disintegrated in the rest of Denmark, as the lack of graves may be due to post-depositional factors. Lindholm Høje, ranging in time between the 5th century till the 11th century, is the largest and one of the only well preserved cemeteries from Jutland in the Germanic Iron age. For that reason and because the analyses are not yet published in full (see however Nielsen 1992 and 1994) I shall devote some space to discuss the site.

Lindholm Høje[11]

Lindholm Høje is placed on a hilltop north of the Limfjord with a view over the fjord. Due to sand drift a large number of stone settings were preserved. Nielsen (1992:129ff; 1994:31) has made both chronological as well as social analyses of Lindholm Høje, assessing, firstly, a horizontal stratigraphy from EGIA, LGIA (phases VII:A VII:B, VIIC/D) to the Viking Age, the burials moving downhill from north to south.

A CA analysis showed a relationship between edged ship-shaped and triangular stone-settings and males, whereas the oval, square and circular stone settings belonged to females. Male graves had a predominantly north-south orientation, whereas females were oriented east-west. There was also a significant relationship between ship-settings, which had "rich" male inventory and oval and square settings that belonged to rich females. Circular and triangular settings generally consisted of less rich female and male graves respectively. There was a connection between high NAT values and rich female graves, but among male graves such a connection could not be determined. This suggests a symbolic use where the ship setting, large ship rivets, and in the later phase, belt buckles had symbolic content belonging to rich men. Correspondingly, the poorer graves contained whetstones. There were only few weapons and they were found mainly in the inhumation graves from the Viking Age.

A number of artefacts were chronologically significant, such as whetstones being early, belt buckles and buckles and strap ends being late among the male inventory. Combs and tweezers showed, however, a non-random and restrictive distribution, interpreted as having social significance. Together with other presumed high prestige combinations of artefacts such as disc-on-bow brooch, play pieces, animal decoration (though not on brooches), head gear for horse, and glass, the combs and tweezers fall together in three groups running from north to south on the site. This suggests that a number of leading families were grouped together symbolically during the occupation of the site. In the later period, status was only shown through the females, suggesting a pattern similar to that of the RIA in Hjemsted in Jutland but different from that on RIA in Bornholm where the emphasis was on the leading spouse, male or female. The identification of family groups including both genders reveals that in Lindholm Høje the spatial division of genders, as known in the LRIA from Sejlflod, has disappeared in the GIA even though the site is only situated ca 30 km north of the Sejlflod cemetery (Nielsen 1991). On the other hand, there is still a tendency for a grouping of the highest social level on the site. Using Nielsen's data it seems to me that in the northernmost part of the cemetery, in phase VII:A[12] three or four groups of families with a rich combination of grave goods can be identified. According to Nielsen's calculations of 10 rich female graves in phase VII:A this implies that there were on average two to three high status females in each high status group. Estimating the length of phase A as two generations, or 70 years, (Nielsen 1992:133), there was always one leading female who was buried with high status grave goods. Similarly, in phase VII:B and C at least two social groups can be assessed. There is a tendency towards having two or three leading farms in the early phases grouping themselves in the cemetery accordingly, whereas the burial of high status persons becomes restricted in the later phase towards being maybe only one leading family, an end result also reached by Nielsen [1994:36].

Demography on Lindholm Høje

The number of usable graves from the LGIA of 575 and an occupation of 270 years, as well as an average life by

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[11] The cemetery consists of 700 graves, mainly very poorly furnished cremation graves published in catalogue form by Ramskou 1976 and by Johansen, and Trolle [1994]. I am very grateful to Karen Høilund Nielsen who gave me access to her unpublished analyses of the site.

[12] The chronology referred to here is Montelius' period VII which Nielsen has subdivided into VII:A, B, C and D (see Nielsen 1987 and Nielsen K.H. 1991, and the discussion of chronology in Chapter three).

Nielsen estimated to be ca 40 years, gives an estimate of the number of people who lived at Lindholm Høje of (575/270 x 40=) 85 persons. She estimates a family to be ca 6 persons, making the number of families/farms 14. Adjusting this estimated number to the number of female primary spouse graves of 132 suggests[13], however, that there were ca 10 families with a primary spouse, an average family thus consisting of 8-9 persons. This number is partly supported by analyses of the settlement evidence close by [Nielsen 1994:36], as well as analyses from written sources in the Frankish region (Kuchenbuch 1978).

The regional and interregional situation.

Ringtved demonstrated that there is continuity in the area around Sejlflod, by placing Sejlflod in its landscape. Her diachronical perspective underlines a connection between sacred place names and offerings when Sejlflod ceased to exist. The marshy conditions in Northern Jutland make only the hills habitable. Thus, we have good suggestions as to where the pathways and settlements were. Sejlflod is not far from a pathway, and in the late Iron Age there was not a great distance between Sejflod from the RIA to Lindholm Høje, Bejsebakken and other localities where sacred place names in combination with gold suggest a continuity of power in the area (Ringtved 1991:66). Ringtved is, however, reluctant to see Sejlflod or northern Jutland as a centre of the local area or as a periphery to either the Stevns area of Sjælland or the Gudme area of Fyn, as this cannot be substantiated in the available data. Also she is critical of the term "centre" for the Stevns area because in comparison with the Gudme area it is only the presence of rich graves that suggests a rich area. Could this not as well reflect different burial rites rather than a centre, and could there not have been other centres that have not been displayed in the grave material ? This discussion has not yet ended, but much more is to be said for the Gudme area being a centre (Thrane 1987;1991). Of explanatory models, the *peer polity interaction* model by Renfrew (1996) is a possible explanation, because the identification of two major regions of Jutland, beginning in the LRIA suggests the existence of two equally competing polities. Equally, the material on Bornholm supports a picture of settlements being under the rule of petty leaders, and, at least from the 6th century, a number of local centres are under the centre of Sorte Muld (Jørgensen 1990:90).

Summary and "reconstruction" of Hjemsted

At the family level my analysis in this chapter has contributed to the above discussion by including material not formerly analysed such as cemeteries I, II and IV from Hjemsted and by applying multivariate analysis as a means of social analysis. The multivariate analysis was applied in order to assess combinations of material culture in graves. My analysis suggests that some material culture was used conspicuously as symbols of status and gender within the families. My status categories A and B lie close to Ringtved's categories 1 and 2, only I have been able to include more symbols in the categories. Additionally, I have proposed a burial pattern that goes as follows. Firstly, there was cemetery III as well as some single graves which both date, in part, back to phase B2. In cemetery III the stratigraphy suggests that there are at least three phases. Graves 1406 and grave 120 could have been the founding spouses of cemetery III, as they were the largest and possibly had an earthen mound. The offspring were buried around the two mounds and were separated according to gender. During the lifetime of cemetery III, cemetery II appears as well as more single graves. This indicates the presence of at least two farms. The farm using cemetery III is older and thus possibly the more important. At this phase we have category B combinations appearing at both cemeteries. Cemetery III is divided into sections of gender and status. This pattern is less obvious at the "family cemeteries" (I,II and IV) though there do appear some category B graves and grave 16535 has some structure around it. In the beginning of phase D a new status category, category A appears. This happens at the same time as the small family cemeteries are abandoned, suggesting an emulation of material symbols in the ritual, possibly by the elite burying their dead continuously at cemetery III. Alongside, the single graves continue during the whole time of habitation. Single graves have here been interpreted as "outsiders" or "special persons", ethnically, socially or sexually cannot be assessed. Most likely I suggest that they were social outsiders. The pattern from the Hjemsted graves is claimed to reveal the social conditions in society if one includes other find categories. The houses at Hjemsted correspond in time and space with the graves making it certain that the buried people lived in between 2-4 contemporary farm units. My reading of other cemeteries in Jutland (Ringtved 1988) and Bornholm suggests that there also here may be a hierarchy in the burial custom, at the local level, where the leading farm unit buried their dead and their retainers as well as household within the cemetery of the farm.

It was suggested that some persons were excluded from normal burial. There is, in my view, a tendency for young girls and socially inferior persons to suffer more from that exclusion. Whether this was due to birth control, as mentioned by Ethelberg, or due to other social or ritualistic factors is difficult to know. From the amount and combinations of grave goods in the graves the buried women, however, seem to have had a high social position in general.

Having outlined the general trends and analysed a number of samples of the south Scandinavian archaeology as well as discussed the relevance of those samples, I shall proceed to look at the southeastern European archaeology, especially the "Goths". As mentioned they may, by the presence of written sources as well as similarities and differences in the archaeology, provide an interesting analogy for the development in Scandinavia.

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[13] Defined as consisting of more than 2 beads (Nielsen 1992:133).

Chapter Five

A survey of the Sîntana de Mureş/Chernyakhovo Culture
A social-economic perspective

Introduction

In order to investigate the similarity or difference between Scandinavia and south-eastern Europe I will look deeper into the material culture of a group of cultures that are known as the Wielbark, Maslomecz group and Sîntana de Mureş/Chernyakhovo culture. These cultures have traditionally been affiliated with the Goths of the written sources, to which I shall return below. Important here, however, is that the similar material culture makes it likely that southeast Europe and Scandinavia shared other similar features (Näsman 1988), as will be discussed below. Thus the southeastern cultures of, and the written texts about a Germanic-speaking people provide an interesting analogy for the material culture of Scandinavia.

In this chapter I shall look at the general trends identified in the archaeology. As the southeastern region is characterised by a number of abrupt cultural changes, it is not possible, as was the case in the discussion of south Scandinavia, to outline a long and continual development in one area from the early Iron Age. Thus, I shall focus here on the late Wielbark culture in Poland and Ukraine and the Sîntana de Mureş/Chernyakhovo culture in Ukraine and Romania. In the next chapter, I will investigate a number of archaeological samples, mainly cemeteries, in order to assess in-depth whether there are any similarities or differences within them in the material culture in the region, and their relation to Scandinavia.

A socio-economic analysis of the archaeological material is achieved, firstly, by looking at settlements and houses. As the level of publication is low, I can only draw on general knowledge from published surveys. Together with the discussion of settlements and graves, the economic relations, the subsistence economy, the degree of specialisation and exchange may help us complete the picture of the social structure of the Sîntana de Mureş/Chernyakhovo culture. This picture will be nuanced in the analysis of cemeteries in the next chapter.

Historiography of the ethnic Goths

Through time there has been discussion as to what extent the Wielbark, the Maslomecz group, and Sîntana de Mureş/Chernyakhovo culture were evidence of the Goths. Especially, after the Second World War, Soviet-dominated scholars did not easily accept the idea of Germanic people spreading into Eastern Europe. Since 1957, most scholars agree (Schschukin 1975; Heather et al.1991: 54, Godlowski 1992, Bierbrauer et al 1993; Bierbrauer 1994), however, that the Sîntana de Mureş/Chernyakhovo culture cannot be *equated* with the Goths. It can, however, be *associated* with the Goths up until the invasion of the Huns in 376. The difference lies in the definition of ethnicity, which now is seen as a subjective assertion of peoples' own ethnic affiliation (Wenskus 1961, Renfrew 1987; Amory 1997 Geary 1983; Jones 1997, Pohl 1997). Thus, ethnicity is not a biological but a cultural phenomenon, which varies through time (Smith 1988:6ff). Any isochrestic variation in the archaeological record may be interpreted as an emblemic use of material culture to show ethnicity, social relations or a chronological development (Jones 1997:124). Which of the structures we identify is not certain, and it could be a mixture of them all. This means that we cannot understand the similarity between the Sîntana de Mureş/Chernyakhovo culture and Scandinavia on a one-to-one relationship between people. It could also be a social construct that develops similarly. Thus, the "Goths" should be understood in a broader manner that implies a coexistence of several peoples between AD 1 and 400, dominated in alliances by a group who considered themselves ethnically to be Goths. Not unlike the fans of a soccer team, the Goths were probably an assimilated group of invading and local people under the aegis of the "Gothic idea" of ethnicity, dressing in the same costume, following the same myths and leaders. With this definition the problem of whether the Goths really originated in Scandinavia loses importance. The fact that their Scandinavian origin is written down in historical texts does not mean that they came from Scandinavia. It can be explained in the way that they *believed* that they came from Scandinavia - as a myth of origin, in the same way as the Romans had a myth of origin that claimed them to originate from King Paris of Troy.

The Wielbark and Sîntana de Mureş/Chernyakhovo culture are thus widely associated with the Goths of the 1st to the 5th century (Kokowski et al. 1995; Bierbrauer 1994; Heather et al. 1991: 54; Heather 1996) known through the written evidence mainly of Amminanus Marcellinus and Jordanes (Wolfram 1988). The Sîntana de Mureş/Chernyakhovo culture resembles to a striking degree the earlier Wielbark culture from the 1st and 2nd century AD in present Poland, as identified among others by Godlowski (1992) and Bierbrauer (1994). The movement of material culture of the Wielbark culture to the southeast synchronously with the report by Ammianus Marcellinus of a Gothic migration makes it tempting to conclude that the material culture is that of the ethnic construct of the Goths he describes (Bierbrauer 1994:87ff; Godlowski 1992). Other indications are the appearance of runes and artefacts and alloys similar to artefact types, and alloys in Scandinavia as well as the presence of the Gothic Bible, "Codex Argenteus". The Gothic Bible was translated in the 4th century by Bishop Wulfila in Adrianopolis and there would have been no reason for the Bishop to translate the Bible into the Gothic if there was no-one speaking the language in the area. Additionally, it must be assumed that both the privileged as well as the underprivileged among the Goths still spoke a Germanic language since Christianity initially was a movement among the poor Germanic people, as also seen in the Passion of St. Saba (Flemberg 1992). Together it seems from several independent sources that the people who spoke the Gothic language and whose artefacts are associated with those of the Wielbark culture and the Sîntana de Mureş/Chernyakhovo culture were in large part the "Goths" of the written sources. Whether they called themselves Goths is another and for this survey less important matter[2].

The homogeneous material of the Chernyakhovo cemetery corresponds well with the content of the cemetery at Sîntana de Mureş that is situated close to the river of Mureş in present Romania. This makes it certain that it is the same culture named by two different archaeologies. The difference between the Wielbark culture and Sîntana de Mureş/Chernyakhovo culture is thus mainly one of chronology and space. The Wielbark culture covers parts of Poland and Ukraine around the birth of Christ to c. AD 200[3]. The Sîntana de Mureş/Chernyakhovo culture can be attributed to the LRIA ca AD 160- 400. Still it is similar enough to make it possible to understand both cultures as the same moving in space and time (Schschukin 1975, 1989). The presence of runes and fibulas similar to those in Scandinavia makes it tempting to conclude that in late antiquity the Romans were *the other* against whom the Germans, Dacians, Sarmatians north of the Danube defined themselves (Thompson 1966; Wenskus 1961; Hedeager 1997, Ravn 1997b).

Placing Sîntana de Mureş/Chernyakhovo in space and time

Though there are many similarities between the Wielbark culture and the Sîntana de Mureş/Chernyakhovo culture (Kokowski et al 1995) I shall concentrate on the latter in this chapter, as it is the most relevant to the cemeteries I have analysed. Chronologically, this culture is also contemporaneous with the written sources. The Sîntana de Mureş/Chernyakhovo culture covers Romania, the Moldavian republic of the former USSR, and the Ukraine. It extends from the rivers Danube, Don, Prut to Kharkov. From south to north it extends from the Black Sea to north of present-day Kiev (fig 5.1). In 1991 at least 2000 sites, cemeteries, hoards and stray finds were known. In the 1970s Godlowski (1970) compared the Central European material of coins, terra sigillata, fibulas, belts, combs, glasses, ceramics and personal belongings with the chronology of "Germania Libera", established by Eggers (1951 &1955). The significant similarity of archaeological material between northern Europe and south-eastern Europe (Werner 1988:250) made it possible to place the Sîntana de Mureş/Chernyakhovo culture in a chronology between Eggers' C2 - D.

Among the known brooches should be emphasised the brooch defined by Almgren as *type VI* (fig 5.2), most often made of bronze or iron, which was a standard dress item throughout the Germanic area. In absolute chronology Godlowski assessed phase C1 to cover ca 150-250, phase C2 ca. 250-310/320. The rosette silver brooch (monströsen Fibula) is placed as a chronological type fossil between C2 and C3. Phase C3 ends ca 375. In this phase the foil brooch (Blechfibula) of silver dominates as a chronological indicator. Phase D covers the late 4th century. Most finds from Sîntana de Mureş/Chernyakhovo culture are placed between C3-D. Following Godlowski (1970:109), there is no Sîntana de Mureş/Chernyakhovo culture earlier than C2.

Settlements

The settlements and cemeteries of the Sîntana de Mureş/Chernyakhovo culture are located along major rivers and secondary valleys, on the south side of hilltops. The location on pastureland is not coincidental, as the main economy was cattle breeding and agriculture. The settlements vary in size from 10-35 hectares. The size of the settlements cannot be considered reliable and comparable to that of South Scandinavia as large scale excavations have not been implemented. The settlements are organised in parallel lines up to 800 m in length and 100-200 m in width (Häussler 1979:41). The culture layer does not exceed 0.6-1.6 m.

There are two house types. The first is the rectangular long house (Wohnstallhaus) oriented east west, often with a stable in the end, indicated by finds of manure, straw and stalls. The living area is in the other end, indicated by fireplaces and domestic tools such as loom weights, etc. The size of the houses generally does not exceed 6-8 x 11-16 metres. They cover an area between 65-120 sq. metres. There is also a category of middle size houses that only cover an area of 10-60 square meters. The house walls are constructed of wattle and daub, and posts held up the roof, mainly in one or two parallel rows.

The other type is the sunken hut (Grubenhaus). Judged from the few fireplaces, the huts were not always used for living purposes, but for domestic work. This is substantiated by the living space of only 5-16 square meters. Earlier the discussion focused on whether the two types of houses were associated with different chronological or ethnic groups. The first question must be answered negatively, because both types of houses have been found together (Heather et al. 1991:57). It could be argued, and indeed it has been argued, that the sunken huts are built in a local tradition, which is traced, back to

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[2] They probably called themselves Tervingi and Greutungi (see Heather 1991)

[3] In fact the Lepesovka settlement in north-western Ukraine is by myself dated to ca AD 160, which makes it a very early site.

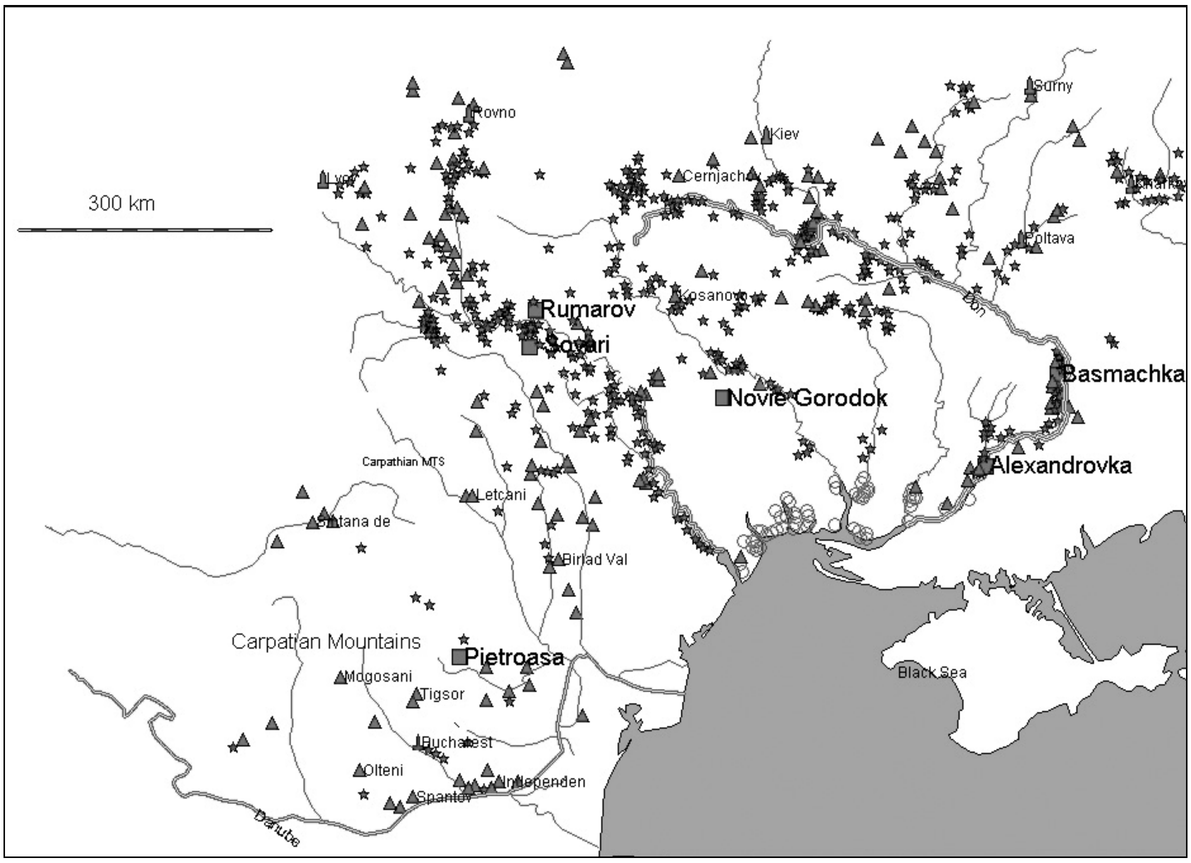

Fig 5.1. Map of the distribution of Sîntana de Mureş/Chernyakhovo culture in the Black Sea region (Anno 1992). Graphics the author, (Source Heather, P. & Matthews, J. 1991). Triangles are cemeteries, stars are settlements, open circles are sites with stone ruins, large squares are centres, and towers are modern cities.

the Scythians. Rather than placing Germans in the surface houses and indigenous Dako-Getans in the sunken houses, one should imagine Sîntana de Mureş/Chernyakhovo culture as adopting both local and foreign elements of living and subsistence. The presence of Grubenhäuser is after all not so strange when one acknowledges the presence of similar huts in contemporary Scandinavia, Netherlands and Germany from the 3rd century AD. Thus, the presence of Grubenhäuser as well as rectangular houses could also be seen as a result of an economy and ideology related to the economy and lifestyle of the Goths. This is also the case with the rectangular surface houses, where the closest analogy, both in layout, orientation, construction and size, is "Germania Libera" and Scandinavia. In short, the concept of both types of houses could have been brought along with the Goths as they moved towards the south, as some must have done (Bierbrauer 1994).

Graves

The cemeteries consist of cremations and inhumations, the latter believed to be younger (Bierbrauer 1980; Ionita 84/85:303). Diaconu (1975:74) associates the early cremations with the Daco-Getian culture previously known in the area, because he can trace back the tradition for cremation locally. Bierbrauer (1980) showed from a number of cemeteries (Kosovano, Tigsor, Independenta, Gavrilovka, Sîntana de Mureş, and Ranzevoje) that there is a non-random tendency for older graves to be placed in the centre of the cemetery, whereas the younger graves spread out in a radiating pattern. That most cremations were placed in the centre supports this pattern.

The orientation of graves varies between n-s, which is mainly an early phenomenon, and e-w orientation, which is later. Attempts to connect e-w orientation, inhumation and limited grave goods with the introduction of Christianity in the 4th century among the Goths are not convincing, because Christian graves in Europe contained grave goods until the 6th century. The lack of grave goods may as well reflect differences in wealth, and a consequent different burial ritual as differences in religion.

Ethnicity and graves

Ionita divided the early cemeteries into three ethnic categories in (1975). Later (1984/85), however, he abandoned that distinction and explained the heterogeneous graves as a reflection of invading Germanic people assimilating their customs to those of the locals. Only in a few cases has it been possible to identify clear Germanic graves positively. A grave from Letcani (fig 5.3) suggests, by the presence of a spindle-whorl with runic inscriptions, that the buried person perceived herself as Germanic. I suggest that runes may be seen as a Germanic construction of identity, an answer

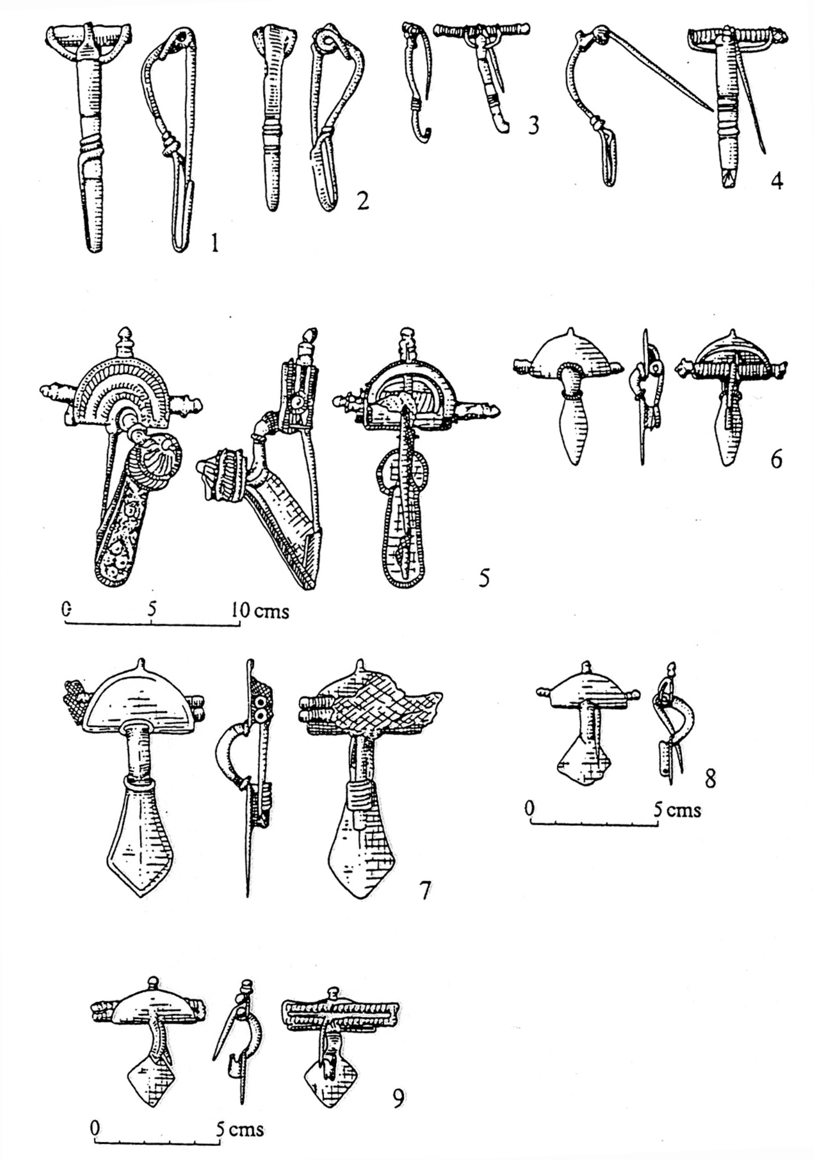

Fig 5.2. Selection of brooches in the Sîntana de Mureş/Chernyakhovo culture (From Heather and Matthews 1991:79).

to the Roman alphabet. Hence, it is reasonable to suggest that very few people who did not consider themselves of Germanic origin would have taken runic spindle-whorls to the grave.

Grave goods

From the grave finds we can see that deposition of glass cups, glass beads, rings, earrings, bracelets, and necklaces, combs, knives and pottery was an established part of the death ritual. The similar number and type of brooches all over the Germanic area suggest that the dress code was similar. Amongst the brooch types I will emphasise the brooch "with umgeschlagene Fuss" Almgren type VI, the silver foil brooch as well as the monstrous (monströsen fibula) brooch of silver. Also the D-formed buckle is well known in the Sîntana de Mureş/Chernyakhovo area. There also appear bucket-formed and lunulae-formed pendants as well as combs, which are all also found in contemporary Scandinavian graves. Combs are made from iron or antler, although the antler combs predominate. Semicircular combs are older than the semicircular with handles. The latter are dated to second half of 4th century

Characteristic of the graves of Sîntana de Mureş/Chernyakhovo culture is the lack of weapons. As this picture does not correspond with the reality of the 4th and 5th centuries, we see an example of the fact that information extracted from the graves does not reflect reality. From Figs 5.4 and 5.5 it is obvious that we have neither many quantitative rich nor poor graves. "Rich" is in this case defined as graves with more than 3 vessels and silver. Though the distinction of 3 vessels seems random (Ionita 1975:80), there is a connection between silver and status in the written sources. Thus, silver may be a more manifest evidence of a rich grave, until further analyses demonstrate a contextual connection between 3 vessels, silver, and rank. As shall be seen in the next chapter this assumption can be supported by qualitative CA analyses. Quantitative analyses, however, show a substantial "middle group" of graves. The same quantitative criteria have been used in Ukraine on 4 cemeteries between Dnster and Don (Häussler 1979:57).

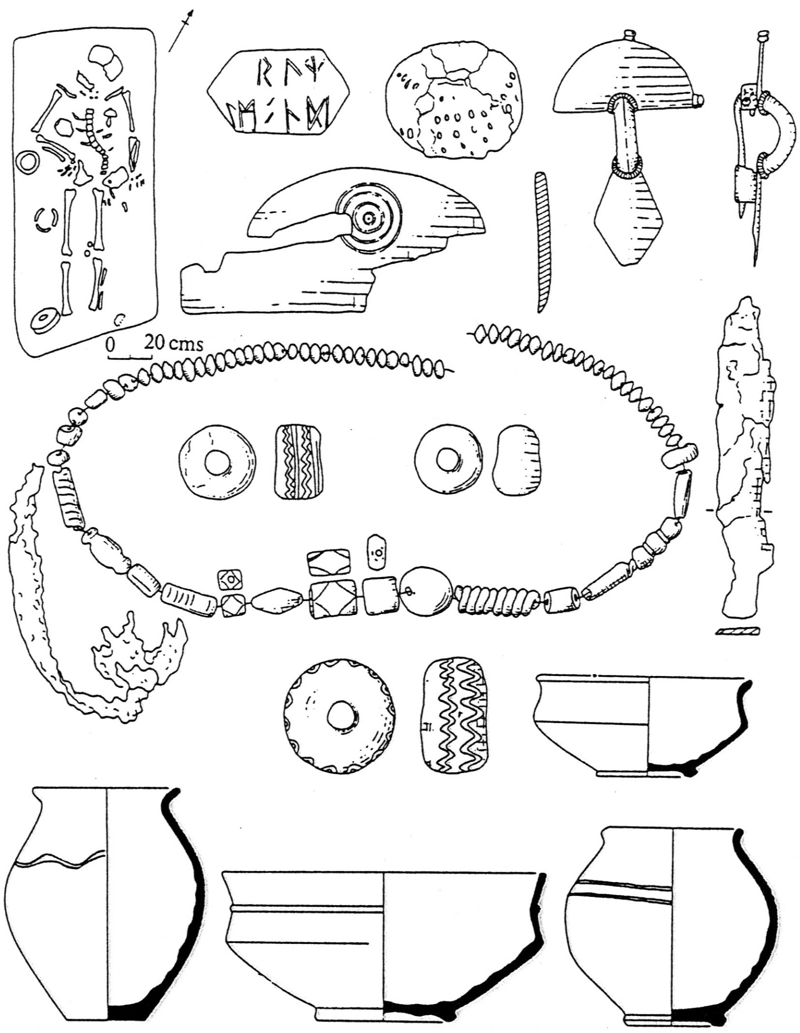

Fig 5.3. Grave 26 from Letçani belonging to the Sîntana de Mureş/Chernyakhovo culture. (from Heather and Matthews 1991:86).

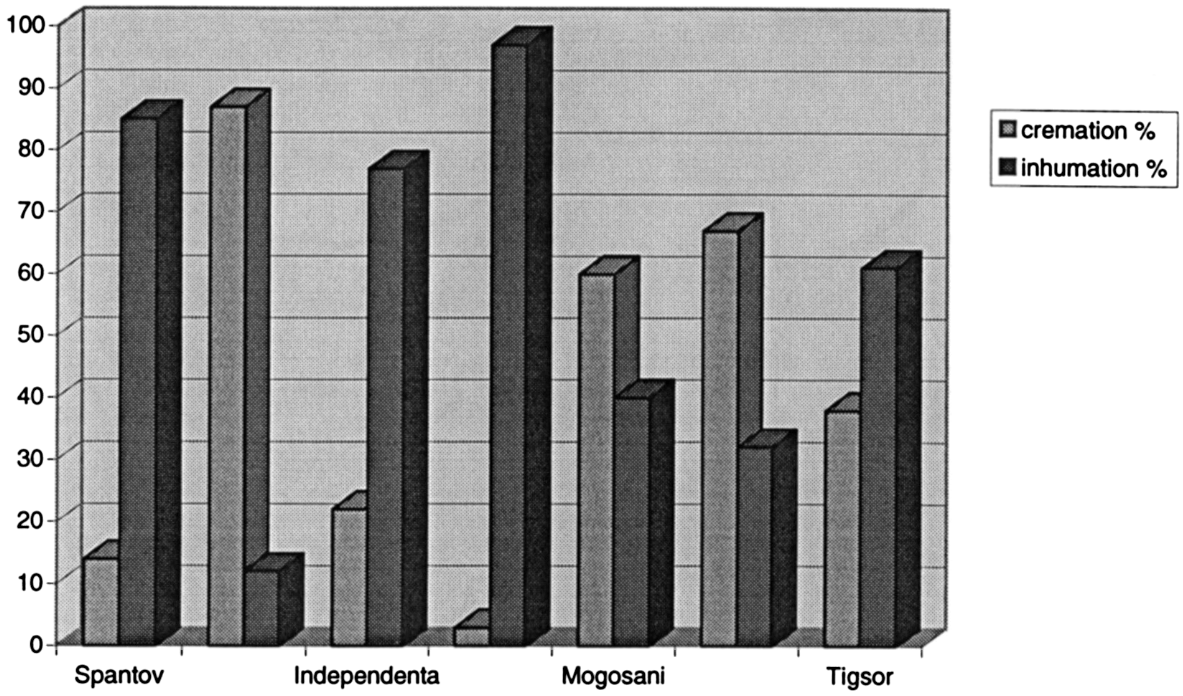

Fig. 5.4. Cremation and inhumation at Gothic cemeteries, N=666 (after Heather et al 1991).

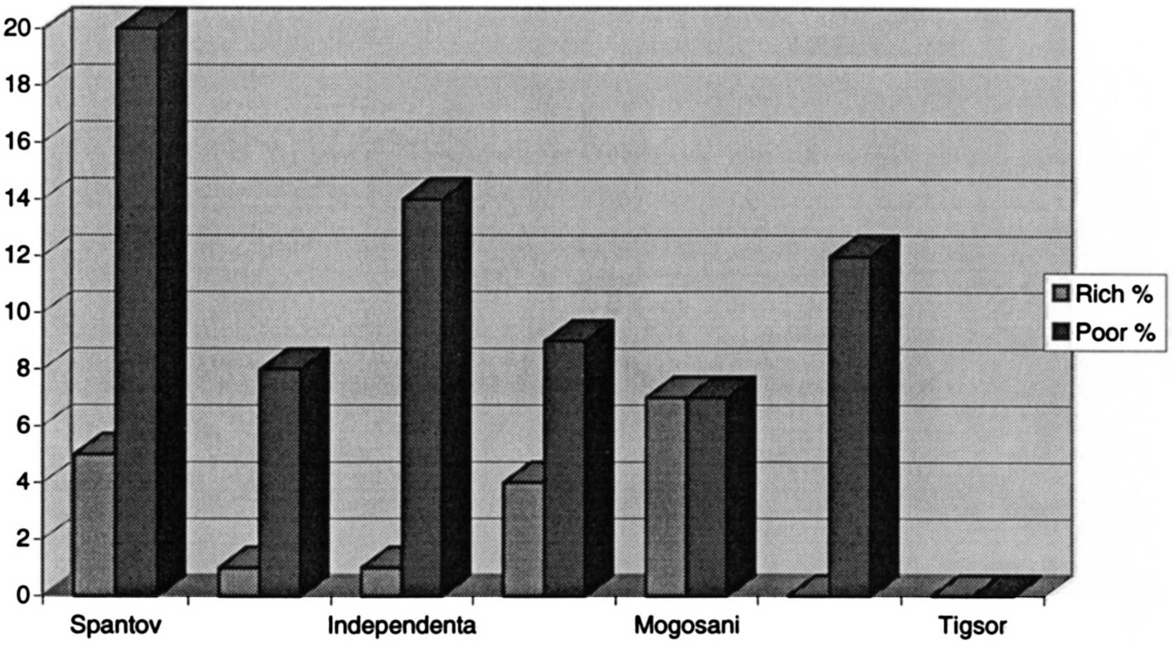

Fig. 5.5. Quantitatively rich and poor graves among the Goths, N=666 (after Heather et al 1991) (Tigsor not included).

Among 473 graves only 10 (viz. 2%) were seen as rich. I shall return to this discussion in the next chapter.

Economy

There is no doubt that the Sîntana de Mureş/ Chernyakhovo culture consisted of sedentary farmers subsisting from grain and cattle. People lived in stationary settlements, which at some places were less than two-three kilometres away from each other, as in contemporary Scandinavia. Large pits found with grain suggest that the most common crops were wheat, barley, millet; less important were rye, oats, peas, berries and acorns as well as wild grapes. The content of a storage pit, which contained 1570 litres of grain, would support six persons for a year, if 200 kilos support one person a year (Rikman 1975:134). This calculation does not allow for use of at least 1/3 of the grain, which may have been meant for sowing. Large storage pots, some of which were as tall as 60 cm and 45 cm in diameter, as well as clay containers, which were used for drying the grain, also suggest that grain played a significant role in the Sîntana de Mureş/Chernyakhovo culture. This picture led Ionita (1975: 77) to suggest that farming was more important than herding. Whether one can demonstrate this conclusion is debatable but in any case the find picture is similar to that of Scandinavia (Hedeager 1992:207ff).

The few seeds of weeds in storage pits as well as evidence of manure suggest that the grain economy was not under stress. Finds of both beans and grain suggest that the Sîntana de Mureş/Chernyakhovo culture practised a rotation economy where beans complemented grain. It thus seems that the Sîntana de Mureş/Chernyakhovo was a highly specialised farming community. This is supported by finds of agricultural and domestic tools throughout the settlements, such as ploughshare, sickle, scythe, axes, knives, scissors, tongs and needles, artefacts which are also found in Scandinavia.

Animal herding was also important in the Sîntana de Mureş/Chernyakhovo culture. Bone analyses at settlements show in order of importance that cattle, pig, goat, sheep and horse were present. This picture is similar to that of the early Wielbark culture (Kokowski et al 1995:60) as well as that in Scandinavia (Hedeager 1992:207ff). The evidence of stalls and manure as well as cowbells supports the importance of cattle, which varied according to the local biotope. All this suggests that cattle spent time both inside and outside the stalls. As hayfields require wetland, the topographic position of the majority of settlements close to rivers suggests that haying was important. This points to the fact that cattle played a major role in the Sîntana de Mureş/Chernyakhovo culture. Additionally, the presence of sieves shows that dairy products were produced. As only 5-10% of bones came from game, hunting was not important. The importance of fishing cannot be established, as fishbones were not retrieved, though the location at rivers suggests that fishing was part of the economy. Compared with earlier cultures in this region we witness a significant emphasis on domestication and a less nomadic lifestyle than before. The picture of the economy is very similar to that of contemporary Scandinavia (Hedeager 1992:207ff).

Craft specialisation

The general appearance of iron tools in the region shows that the production of iron was well developed and based on skilled workmanship. Iron and bronze were the most important raw materials, whereas silver appears less frequently. There is no evidence of silver mining in the area, suggesting that silver was imported as coins, smelted and recast as jewellery. There are generally few gold finds or tools for working gold. Whether this points to the presence of a wandering jeweller of Roman origin, or whether gold was simply imported cannot be established here. I should think the latter is the most likely, as there is no evidence in the Roman sources of Roman jewellers working extensively among the Goths. Additionally, from evidence from Scandinavia that is similar in many other ways, it is clear that local production was present from at least the 3rd century AD, and it seems reasonable to assume the same was the case among the Goths.

From the 3rd and 4th centuries AD we have in Sinicy in the Ukraine the best known "centre"[4] of iron smelting and production (Kropotkin et al 1976:324). Fifteen smithies were excavated as well as a row of 150 shaft ovens. Kropotkin suggests that iron production was highly specialised in this region and a full- time occupation. There are similar indications in Scandinavia where the number of ovens has been divided by the number of years makes the evidence of high specialisation less substantial. Apart from this "centre", most settlement finds and metallurgical analyses show that there was a local production of iron mostly at the periphery of each settlement or farm unit. The same pattern is evident from excavations in western Jutland in Scandinavia. It is thus possible that Sinicy was not more of a centre than the areas in Scandinavia, though the plans have not been available to pursue this question further.

Metallurgical analyses of iron samples of 200 iron tools from 20 locations allow us to reconstruct the technological procedures of the smith. From here we have evidence from heating and hammering of the iron into tools into the desired form. The smith also produced steel as well as metal of different hardness at different locations on the sword. Additionally, he soldered and welded. In short, the iron was worked at a high technological level, which shows that the smith had been practising the craft for generations. Earlier cultures in the region produced iron at a lower technological level. This sophisticated iron technology in comparison to earlier and the presence of handmade pottery could be another indication of some invading people from beyond the Pontic region. Similarity with the rest of Free Germania in crafts and technology confirms a cultural connection.

Metallurgical analyses of 188 Germanic brooches support this contention. The alloy of copper and zinc in the early period corresponds well with the brooches of free Germany, especially in the Baltic region. This result suggests that a concept of alloying was brought to the Pontic region by people or by trade, because the alloy of later brooches apparently adapted to local tradition. This picture does not coincide with analyses of belt buckles made from alloy produced in a local tradition. Whether this difference in the use of alloys indicates a decentralised production affiliated to ethnic groups, or only different preferences and traditions among craftsmen, is hard to assess.

Finds of moulds suggest that jewellery was produced locally in each village (Häusler 1979:32). Looking at the homogeneity of the jewellery, we must assume a degree of specialisation, in contrast to some scholars' contention (Häussler 1979:33) that it was at the same level as that of the iron production. Jewellery was produced locally or for a small group of consumers within a region.

The significant number of grindstones suggests that the processing of grain was well developed. That the size of the grindstones varies between 20-60 cm is seen by some as an indication that the village employed slaves or beasts for the processing of grain. The spatial distribution of grindstones in the corner of the settlements suggests that the processing of grain at least in some places was a communal task in the settlement. The homogeneity of grindstones indicates that the production of grindstones was also specialised to some extent.

In the Sîntana de Mureş/Chernyakhovo culture there are many finds of bone and antler such as needles, awls, knife, handles and combs. Best known are semicircular combs of bone and, less often, of iron. This type is known over the whole area of Free Germania. Iron combs were probably employed in wool processing whereas bone combs were for personal use. In Birlad-Velae-Seaca 16 comb workshops were identified (Heather et al. 1991:82), from which the working process of bone combs has been reconstructed. From this we see that the most efficient work procedure was to mass-produce a number of blanks, suggesting that production was specialised.

Finds of glass in graves of the 3rd and 4th centuries show that glass played a substantial role in the grave rites of the Sîntana de Mureş/Chernyakhovo culture. From the end of the 4th century, one notices an orientation of the imports away from Egypt and Syria. Evidence of glass slag and workshops (Smisko 1964) shows that glass was produced locally in the Pontic region. Export is evidenced by analogical types of thick walled faceted glasses (Werner 1988:259) as far north as central Scandinavia. It could point to an export of glass as well as other close contacts towards the north, as is also evidenced in high-status burials (Storgaard 1994:160ff) as well as settlements (Näsman 1984) in Scandinavia.

The presence of flax and traces of a burned loom as well as general finds of loom weights in houses and in female graves, suggests that weaving and spinning were domestic tasks carried out by women in each household. Grave analyses where skeletons have been included in the analysis support this assumption.

Ceramics

Ceramics appear throughout the area at both sites and in graves. Sixty to eighty percent of the pottery is wheel-turned, whereas the rest is handmade. The wheeled ceramic is fine and the clay is grey or red, suggesting that burning reached high temperatures. Ornamentation is most often linear or absent, but never extensive. The wheel-turned pots are traced back to a local tradition. The best known type is the open vessel, in my analyses called type M (fig 5.6). Another type is the jug in my analyses termed type A (fig 5.7) and, thirdly, the storage jars, which I have subdivided according to the shape of the pot (fig 5.8).

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[4] The word centre is vaguely defined among East European scholars.

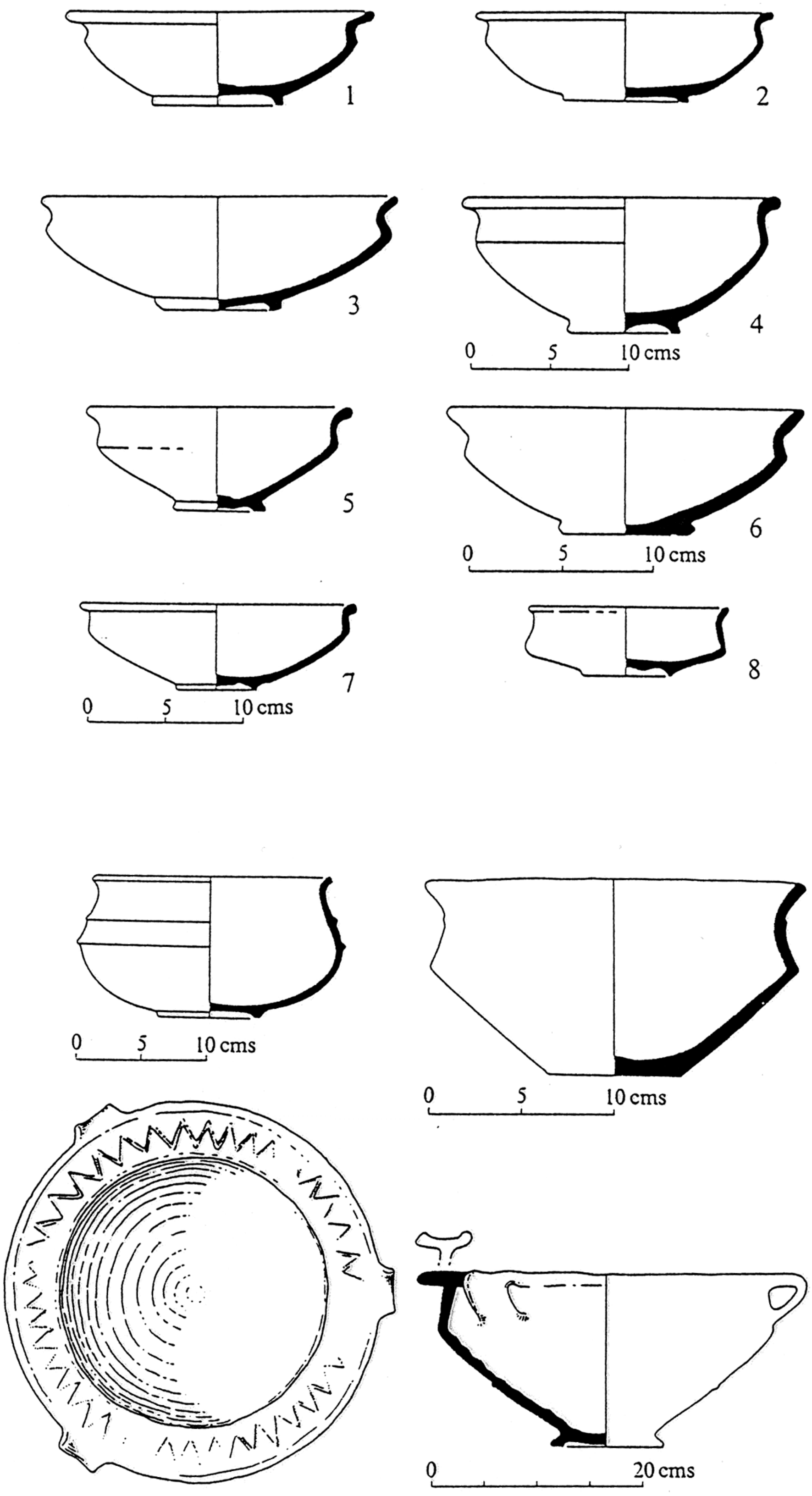

Fig 5.6. Wide and shallow (drinking?) bowls; small types are type M1, larger ones are type M2. (my definitions). (Illustrations from Heather and Matthews 1991:72).

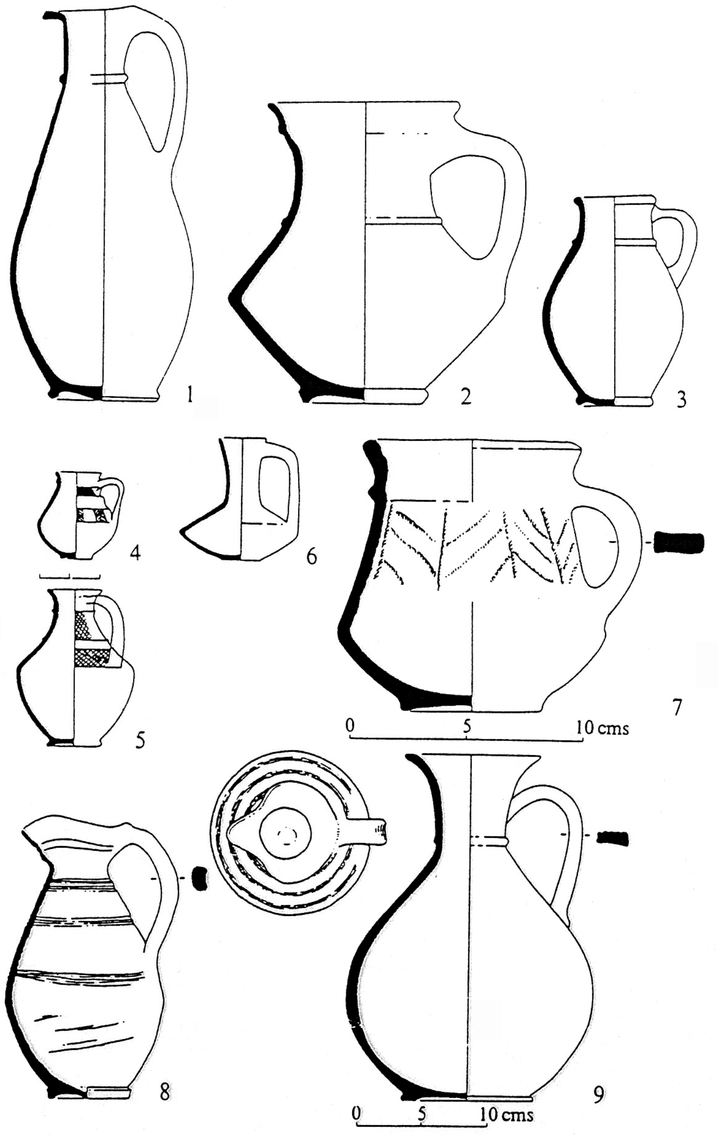

Fig 5.7. Type A jugs from the Sîntana de Mureş/Chernyakhovo culture (from Heather and Matthews 1991:74).

Handmade pottery was used mainly for storage and tends to be older. The so-called Daco-Getan cup, which functioned as a lamp, is traced back to a tradition of the La Tène culture of the 1st and 2nd centuries. Its presence suggests an adaptation by incoming people of the local pottery technique. There are also Roman amphorae, showing that the import of olive oil and wine was important, especially in the Limes area. The presence of both wheel-turned and handmade "Nordic" ceramic types cannot be used to equate pots with people. It can, however, indicate an assimilation and coexistence of several craft traditions as well as social and ethnic groups in the Pontic region.

In many settlements there are extensive finds of kilns for firing pottery. By Lepsovka in the Ukraine two different kilns placed 9 meters from each other were found. The size of the kilns and the workshops in Ivakivey of 4,5 x 5m (Häusler 1979:39) suggests that there was a specialisation of ceramics at a local scale. At Budesty, there is an example of a kiln that produced 150 big vessels. As a workshop was discovered 15 km from Budesty, some archaeologists proposed that the radius of pottery exchange was 7 km (Rikman 1975:168). This interpretation is not wrong but rests on one area and two sites and needs further substantiation. The many finds of workshops in the Pontic region show, however, that most villages produced their own ceramics. The homogeneity of the pots suggests that the potters worked within a mutually agreed tradition beyond the level of the settlement, maybe at the level of the tribe. Regional studies, which could substantiate this, are few (Kropotkin 1984).

Contact, exchange or trade ?

The significant amount of coins found north of the Danube shows a substantial degree of contact between the Roman Empire and the Sîntana de Mureş/Chernyakhovo culture. Before AD 275 most

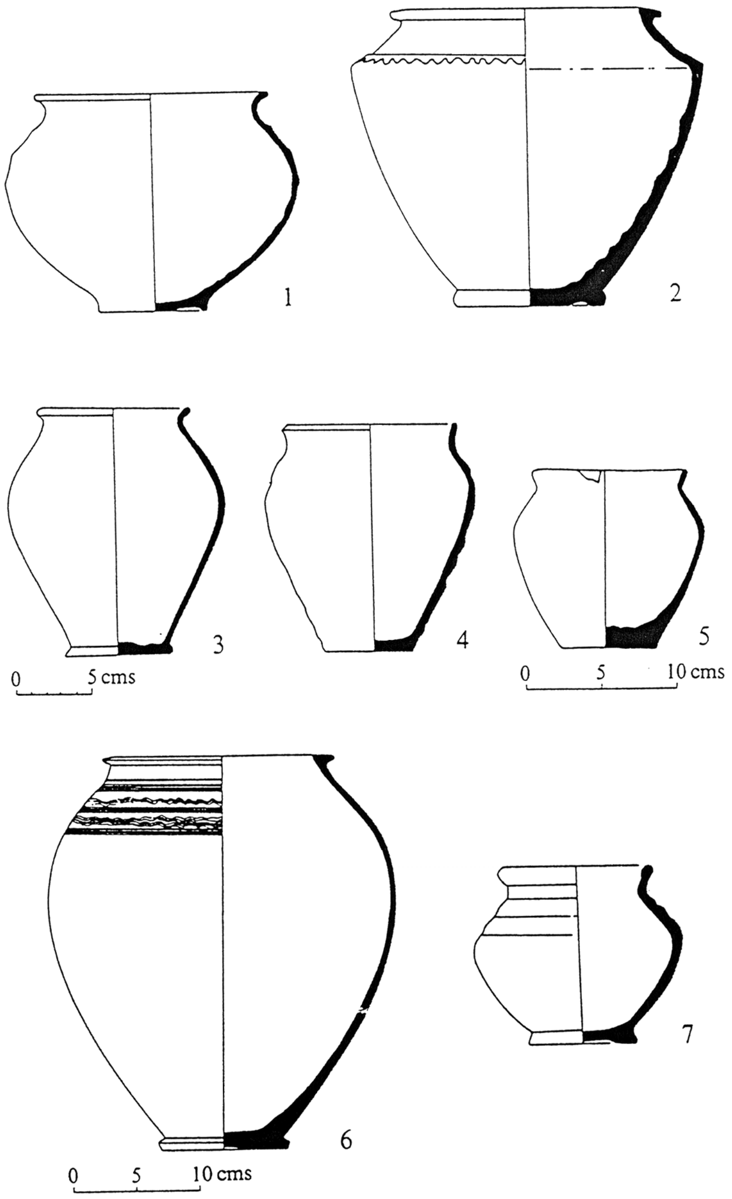

Fig 5.8. Storage jars of the Sîntana de Mureş/Chernyakhovo culture (illustrations from Heather and Matthews 1991:75).

hoards contain coins from the time of the Emperors Commodus and Septimus Severus (AD. 180-211). Around AD 235 the appearance of hoards stops. The presence of many hoards between AD 180 and 235 is linked to the unstable times that caused people to bury their valuables. As, according to the written sources, Germans appear around AD 235 it is tempting to connect those two phenomena. If it can be established that most hoards were found on dry land, which indicates that they were not offerings, but rather suggests instability around 235. But the content of the hoard should also be looked at in order to assess its randomness.

Between AD 235 and 274 there are few hoards. In a registration of bronze and silver coins from hoards and loose finds between AD 274-491, north of the Danube (but only from the present Romania) one discovers that 55% of the coins carry the portrait of Constantius II (337-361) (Heather et al. 1991:92). This pattern suggests that the peace treaty (foedus) of AD 332 of the written sources between the Goths and the Romans resulted in extensive contacts and maybe trade. Supporting the hypothesis of trade is the fact that 70% of the silver and bronze coins between AD 320-360 were loose finds. Thus, coins were not used for accumulation, which the presence of earlier hoards suggests. A matter of debate is whether the Sîntana de Mureş/Chernyakhovo culture was involved in the money economy of the Roman Empire. The accumulation of silver coins far away from the Limes and the random distribution pattern of bronze and copper coins, the latter everyday coins among the Romans, points to at least two economic zones in the area of the Sîntana de Mureş/Chernyakhovo culture, similar to those identified by Hedeager (1978) in Northern Europe. The zone closest to the Limes had a semi-money economy. The presence of Roman amphorae close to the Limes supports this contention, and suggests furthermore that the Sîntana de Mureş/Chernyakhovo culture imported among other things oil, wine, etc. In the zone further away it can be argued that a prestige goods economy prevailed, based on exchange and import and accumulation of prestige goods, such as silver and luxury goods, as is seen in Central Europe.

It is hard to know from the archaeological record what the Romans imported. The written sources suggest that cattle and food as well as fur and slaves were imported. Archaeologically, the limited finds of bones of game (5-10%) support the contention that furs were not the main exchange good, unless they were exported unskinned[5]. As the infrastructure beyond the Roman Empire was bad, much cereal cannot have been exported either. Rather cattle and its end products, meat and leather for the Roman army seem a fair guess, because the cattle could be driven. Furthermore, from the Roman Castella we know that Romans produced their uniforms locally and that leather was used for large parts of the uniform. Thirdly, the word for wealth in Gothic is cattle. Hence, it seems obvious that cattle were the main good of export and wealth. As slaves could also transport themselves, and the Roman demand for slaves was extensive, it seems fair to guess that slaves were also a substantial part of the exchange goods. The word "*skalk*" is a native word in the Gothic language, which means slave or servant. This implies that the Goths also knew the institution of slavery in some form before extensive contact with the Romans.

Conclusions

The Sîntana de Mureş/Chernyakhovo culture was a highly specialised sedentary community, which based its main economy on agriculture and cattle herding. As the Sîntana de Mureş/Chernyakhovo culture was self-sufficient, the reason for exchange, for which we have archaeological evidence, must be explained as evoked by the social structure. As discussed in Chapter one and Chapter three, exchange with the Roman empire was a way for a rising aristocracy to promote, legitimise and maintain power internally. Hence, the more "international" they were the more power they had (Hedeager 1992). In that perspective, prestige goods not only reflect exchange of goods but also exchange of ideas in organising society (Renfrew 1996:126). The literary evidence confirms that this explanation is viable, because we know that Germanic people served in the Roman army and took back titles and goods[6]. Of course we only find the visible material evidence of exchange that, as mentioned above, mostly consists of silver coins and other imports.

Following the centre-periphery model (Hedeager 1987), which can be justified so close to the Roman empire, the obvious change from a horizontal to a vertically organised society is explained as a result of war and peace contacts between the Roman Empire and the Germanic tribes. The contacts demanded a more central authority and organisation, and eventually a petty kingdom. Hence, from the presence and degree of exchange goods we can argue that the Sîntana de Mureş/Chernyakhovo culture was an *aristocratic society,* which was in the middle of the process towards becoming a kingdom. The nature of the leadership and the social structure cannot be assessed without including the settlement evidence, written sources and, what will be my focus here, in-depth analysis of selected cemeteries.

From the organisation of houses and settlements it is noticeable that at least one third of the houses were located by themselves[7]. This pattern suggests that the village community and the family structure were changing towards more individuality. The wattle fences around individual houses known from sites (Komrat) together with finds of keys from settlements and graves (Häussler 1979:51) show that the notion of individual access to property was developing during the 4th century. Hence, the relatively individual economic farm units without or within the hamlet must have exploited the land with the family as the basic workforce. The internal organisation of long houses and sometimes more than one living room, shows that an extended family could be housed. Together with general anthropological observations (Hastrup 1980; Renfrew & Bahns 1991:156) and the particular written evidence about the Goths (Wolfram 1988), I suggest that a family structure with an average of 8-15 persons was the basic unit of the farm. The presence of kin relations at the micro level suggests that the basic features of a complex chiefdom prevailed. As discussed in Chapter one, this is seen in the written evidence where a council of elder men led the village.

The size of houses is used as an argument for ranking within the Sîntana de Mureş/Chernyakhovo culture. This argument should be substantiated through other qualitative investigations, because the size of houses does not vary significantly. Together with the parallel organisation of the settlements (Häusler 1979:41), and at some places a central street (ibid:42), archaeological evidence supports the contention that there was some sort of concept behind the organisation of the settlements. Whether this is evidence of a *central authority* of some kind in the 4th century is not as clear as many may think. To me, we still lack an understanding of exactly what kind of relationship there was between a linear organisation of houses and a central authority. As seen in the discussion of the Passion of St Saba we know that the Goths in 372 had a powerful tribal leader and a retinue. From the Gothic Bible we also know that reiks was the name of a chief (Wolfram 1988: 102). Atharidus was one reiks of at least six within the Gothic area called Gutthuida. On the basis of size, topography, lay out and walled fortifications, Kropotkin (1984:41ff) identifies six central villages in the Sîntana de Mureş/Chernyakhovo area. This number coincides with the literary evidence, which claims that the Goths consisted of at least six tribes. According to Kropotkin, the centres had granite walls, as well as incidences of glass windows and tiles as well as traces of workshops (Kropotkin 1984:44; Heather 1996:54).

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[5] They could have been middlemen as suggested by (Vierck 1983).

[6] A recent substantiation of this is the (still unpublished) find of a pugio (a high prestige Roman dagger) in a grave near Haderslev in southern Denmark.

[7] This pattern may however change when more settlement evidence appears.

The first and best-known centre is the rich settlement of *Pietroasa*, which functioned as a centre of production and redistribution of cattle and crafts (Diaconu 1975:73). If slavery was a part of the Sîntana de Mureş/Chernyakhovo culture, it was in these centres that they were in demand, since only here do we see a tendency towards mass production. Diaconu (ibid.) suggests that Pietroasa was the centre of the historic kindins (i.e., confederate warlord) Athanaric in the middle of the 4th century. Harhoiu (1977) has placed the date of the gold treasure of Pietroasa to around the year 450. Hence, it is not connected with Athanaric's centre of the 4th century, though it suggests that Pietroasa kept the importance into the 5th century. The other 5 sites *Sovari, Rumarov, Novie Gorodok, Basmachka and Alexandrovka* share the same features as Pietroasa (Kropotkin 1984:45; Heather 1996:54)[8]. Thus, in spite of differences in terms of the presence of stone walls and glass production in south east Europe, which could be explained by the closeness to the Roman Empire, as well as a slightly higher specialisation, evidenced by the use of the wheel in producing pottery, those centres are in many ways similar to the Gudme-Lundeborg area in Scandinavia. The archaeological evidence of the latter is much better known, which is why the details of similarity and difference with the former cannot be elaborated here.

From quantifying "rich" and "poor" graves (fig 5.5) an egalitarian pattern among the Sîntana de Mureş/Chernyakhovo culture emerges which to a certain extent corresponds with the settlement evidence but not with the written sources. Therefore, I suggest preliminarily that the egalitarian pattern of the graves is not the real pattern because a quantitative analysis is too vague an analysis of the relatively poorly equipped graves in the Sîntana de Mureş/Chernyakhovo. Rather a deeper qualitative analysis will be pursued in the following chapter to assess the status symbols that cannot be identified in a normal analysis. A more thorough analysis of the graves may reveal another pattern.

Generally, crafts, such as iron and jewellery manufacture were not specialised for mass production or export. In fact, if Werner's distribution map (1988:250) is read correctly, the monstrous fibulas were imported by the Sîntana de Mureş/Chernyakhovo culture from Scandinavia[9]. Glass was the exception. Judging from the finds of slag in the Pontic region and distribution maps, much is to be said for an export from southeast Europe to the rest of Germania Libera (Näsman 1984:map 3). Hence, this region is the first outside the Roman empire to produce glass.

That ceramics were wheel-turned as opposed to many other places in free Germania also indicates a firmer establishment of the handicraft production than elsewhere. These phenomena suggest that while most crafts had not yet been separated from subsistence production some specialisation was well under way, especially the glass workshops and ceramic production.

Further research

Naturally the conclusions in this chapter are based on scarce material. To document further the nature of the complex chiefdom, and monitor the process of change it was going through, three approaches are possible. 1) At the micro level one could investigate in depth the internal organisation of houses in space, the luxury finds, the fences and walls, etc. 2) At the macro level an investigation of the nature of the six centres and an assessment from which criteria they were defined as rich and important (i.e., how much craft specialisation was present, etc.) would help us to assess to what extent these centres housed a reiks. Kropotkin (1984:41) has set up a model, and sees a connection between the size of the site and the sort of production. Seen from the outside it seems, however, difficult to substantiate this model further before a number of settlements in the area have been totally excavated and published. This approach is at the moment difficult due to the excavation methods resulting in scarce and partially excavated sites. Also the present economic situation does not allow for such enterprises. I attempted a closer look at the settlement material in July 1995 through a visit to Dr. M. Schschukin in St. Petersburg. His collection only contained one site, namely the Lepesovka site. 3) Since most of the material is published in Russian and difficult to access, the third approach is at the moment the most promising. This is to continue the quantification and qualification of published cemeteries in-depth with an innovative methodology, attempting to assess the symbolic relation between wealth, silver, vessels and other symbols of wealth and power. This is what I intend to do in the next chapter.

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[8] My parents N.F. Ravn and Polly Ravn have kindly translated the article by Kropotkin 1984. This article has been the only available evidence to me of centres.

[9] According to Werner (1988) the contacts between especially Fyn in Denmark and the Sîntana de Mureş/Chernyakhovo are so significant that he and Storgaard (1994:160ff) see the Aarslev grave and the Brangstrup treasure as an indication of personal relations and exogamy.

Chapter Six

A social analysis of “Gothic” cemeteries

Introduction

The main aim of this chapter is to look more carefully at the body of data from cemeteries relating to the “Goths” in order to identify a number of artefacts, which reflect symbols of *social structure* of society. In this chapter I will move from the specific to the general by including a number of relevant and accessible cemeteries. The limited number of published cemeteries in this area makes me focus mainly on the Romanian cemeteries. The main focus will be on the Tigşor cemetery.

Analysis of Tigşor -- an ethnically[2] mixed cemetery of the 3rd, 4th and 5th centuries.

Tigşor is situated in Romania north of Bucharest, 9 km south of the town of Ploiesti, fig 5.1. From 1956 a campaign was started where selected parts of the area were excavated. There were finds of early Hallstatt, La Tène and Geto-Dakian settlement as well as Roman settlement (coins and tiles) from the *terminus post quem* of the emperors Nerva (96-98) and Trajan (98-117). One of the tiles had the inscription LEGXICPF, suggesting the presence of the 11th legion (Diaconu 1965:156). As far as the Sîntana de Mureş/Chernyakhovo graves are concerned, no contemporary settlement was found[3].

The Tigşor graves from the Migration period are from a large and well-published site. The problem, however, with this site is that it is not totally excavated. An additional problem is the comparatively few graves that can be dated, a problem, which may be less significant because of the rather short term occupation on site. My aim here is to look more carefully at the body of data of the Sîntana de Mureş/Chernyakhovo culture at Tigşor and assess a number of variables expressing *social aspects* of society. As with the Hjemsted cemetery I will use CA analysis in order to confirm or reject tendencies identified from conventional analyses.

The Tigşor graves -- their relative and absolute dates

The 286 migration period graves of mainly the Sîntana de Mureş/Chernyakhovo culture are dated to the 3rd and 4th centuries AD. The cemetery is situated along a river. Diaconu (1965) has published the site is as a catalogue but the cemetery may not be fully delimited.

The relative chronology is assessed from stratigraphy (Diaconu 1965:IV). Judged on distinctive material from inhumations, it is here obvious that the 20 oldest graves of phase I are “Sarmatian”. Diaconu sees them as belonging to the 3rd century. The second phase (II) contains 8 cremation graves from the end of the 3rd century and the beginning of the 4th century belonging to the romanised Geto-Dacian population. Their peculiarity is evinced by the presence of weapons in some of them (Diaconu 1965:167). This is a rare phenomenon in this region. None of these graves interfere with the Sîntana de Mureş/Chernyakhovo graves suggesting that they were so close in time that they respected each other. The third phase is the Sîntana de Mureş/Chernyakhovo phase consisting of both cremation (IIIA), as well as inhumation graves, phase IIIB and IIIC. Phase III belongs to mainly the 4th century. As a number of inhumation graves cut the cremation graves, inhumation appears younger than cremation graves. The Tigşor graves lie within the time range of Eggers’ (1955) phase C2 and phase D, or in absolute dates between AD 250/260 to 375/400. This means that the settlement was in use for, at the most, 150 years. The best chronology is still Godlowski’s from 1970. Here he constructed an absolute chronology for Central Europe that is still standing, also in Northern Europe (Hansen 1987 &1988). Unfortunately, he did not do more on elaborating the absolute chronology of south-eastern Europe, but recognised that it needed refinement. Schschukin (1991) did attempt to subdivide the very characteristic brooch with “umgeschlagene Fuss”[4] of the Sîntana de Mureş/Chernyakhovo culture, though the interval and overlap were still quite wide. Almgren argued that the brooches belonged to the 3rd century (Almgren 1897:84). Diaconu (1965:144) dates the graves from Tigşor to the 4th century. Godlowski suggests that the Sîntana de Mureş/Chernyakhovo culture in Romania cannot be earlier than C2 (1970:109). It thus seems that the brooch (A:VI:162-168) is in long circulation -- an assumption that Russian research supports (Simonovich 1979:133ff). So even though Eggers puts it in C1 (Eggers 1955: abb3), Albrechtsen (1968) shows that it stretches into the 5th century and it probably develops into the silver foil brooch. I have therefore chosen, as others before me (Bierbrauer 1980; Heather et al 1991), to distinguish between an early phase C2/C3, being placed between ca AD 250-300, an early C3a (AD 300-350) and late C3b (AD 350-380) being mainly the 3rd and 4th century which this cemetery covers (Fig 6.1). Typical of the later graves will be the presence of semicircular combs with a handle, as well as foil brooches, whereas the earlier contain only semicircular combs as well as Almgren VI:162-168[5] .

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[2] On the discussion of ethnicity please see Chapter one and Chapter five.

[3] But this is probably due to the small-scale excavation method. Only few rural settlements have been identified in this region.

[4] See Almgren 1897:table VI:162-168.

[5] The asterisk at grave 96 indicates that it contains a coin from Honorius (395-423). This divergence can only be explained as a disturbance from animals. The fibula suggests that it is from C2/C3. This is also what can be retrieved from Diaconu (1965:58).

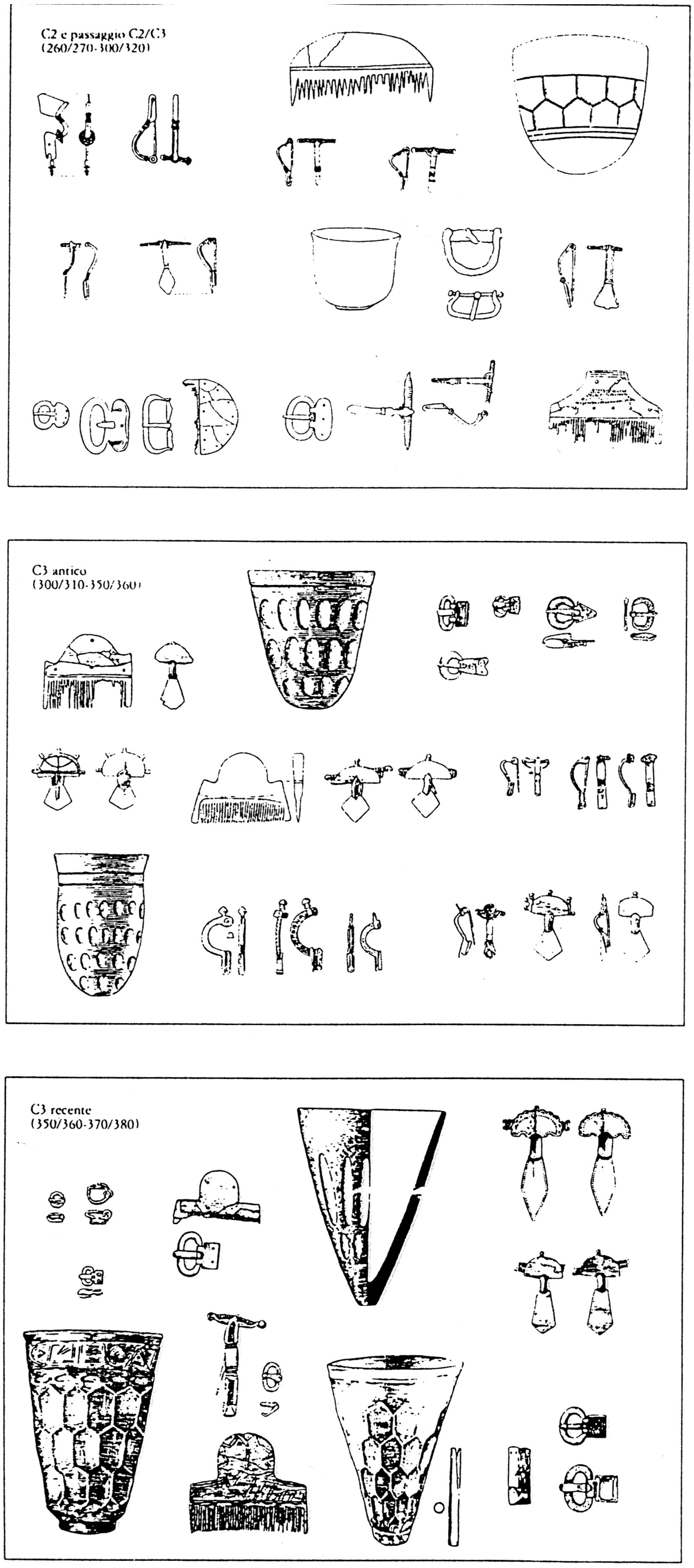

Fig 6.1 Table of significant find associations and dates of the Sîntana de Mureş/Chernyakhovo culture (from Bierbrauer et a. 1993:38).

Recorded variables at the Tigşor cemetery

Prestigious artefacts such as gold, silver and weapons are recorded if present. On pots ornamentation has been defined in broad categories similar to those discussed in Scandinavia. The pots have been defined according to a general typology as discussed in the Chapters three and four. Of simple combinations I have distinguished between graves with 1 to 6 pots, most graves containing 2-3 pots (fig 6.2). Also, I have distinguished between graves with 1 to 7 brooches (fibula), as well as combinations with belt buckles. These numbers of pots and brooches, however, cannot be included in a CA analysis, because they bias it. These variables are discussed in the conventional analysis, and where relevant, during the CA analyses.

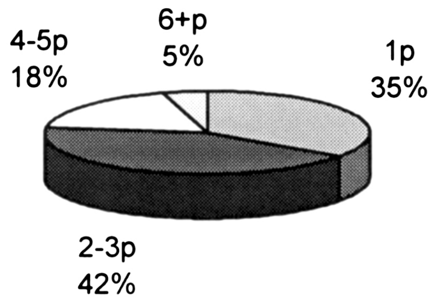

Fig. 6.2. Number of pots in each grave, N=131.

Other artefacts are the following types: foil brooch, silver fibula, glass cup, glass bead (bdglass), needles/awls, amber beads (bdamb), iron rivets, iron knife (knifeir), clasps, spindle-whorl (spindle), bronze ring, iron brooch (fibulair), belt buckle (buckle). The position of certain artefacts in the grave is also monitored. Here, the recording of space has been adopted and modified from Härke's analyses of Anglo Saxon graves (Härke 1992a:128) as in Chapter four fig 4.3. Hence, A is in the top of the grave, C is in the middle and I is in the foot end of the grave (Härke 1992a:128). The focus is on containers A, C, I and jewellery A, C, and I, as well as weapons A, C and I. Also, the number of artefact types (NAT) is recorded as in Chapter four. All together the analysis of Tigşor consists of ca 119 variables and 280 graves, as a starting point for the registration.

Analysis of all graves at Tigşor

Before a CA analysis can proceed some general observations can be made about the Tigşor cemetery. First, at Tigşor inhumation was in the majority (fig 6.3), consisting of 173 graves against 107 cremation graves. There was a clear predominance of N-S oriented graves with only very few graves oriented E-W [6](fig 6.4). There are no traces of coffins at Tigşor, maybe because they are not preserved. The skeletons preserved at Tigşor indicate that 95% of the bodies were placed in the grave in the supine position (fig 6.5), suggesting a set ritual transcending internal social division.

Almost totally absent at Tigşor are weapons, except for two interesting "Geto-Dacian" cremation graves that I shall return to below. There were only pots in 47% of the graves (fig 6.6). Of these graves, most of them had 2-3 pots. Second came graves with 1 pot, whereas only 5 % had more than 6 pots (fig 6.2). Most pots are without ornamentation (pl) (fig 6.7), and the rest have simple linear (li) or chevron (ch) ornamentation (fig 6.8), the linear often being plastic. The different pot shapes are discussed in Chapter four. The M shape bowl type (fig 5.6) as well as the undecorated B type (fig 5.8) together with jugs (A-shape) (fig 5.7) are the most common types represented (fig 6.9).

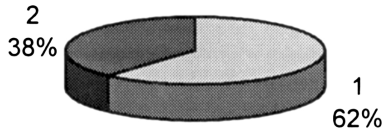

Fig. 6.3. Inhumation (1) and cremation (2) at Tigşor, N=280

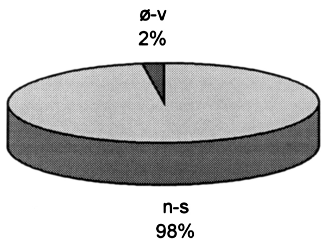

Fig. 6.4. Orientation at Tigşor, N=221.

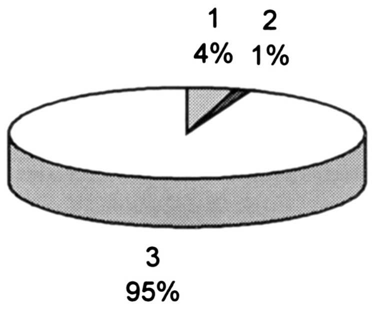

Fig. 6.5. Placing the dead 1: right; 2: left; 3: supine. N=67

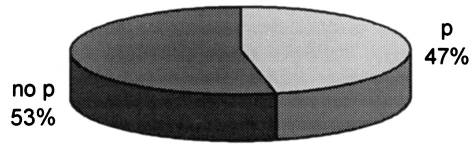

Fig. 6.6. Percentage of graves with and without pots, N=280.

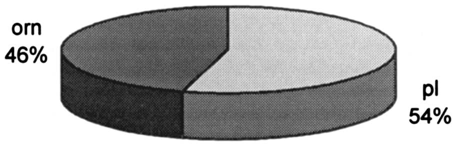

Fig. 6.7. Decorated and undecorated pottery at Tigşor, N=180.

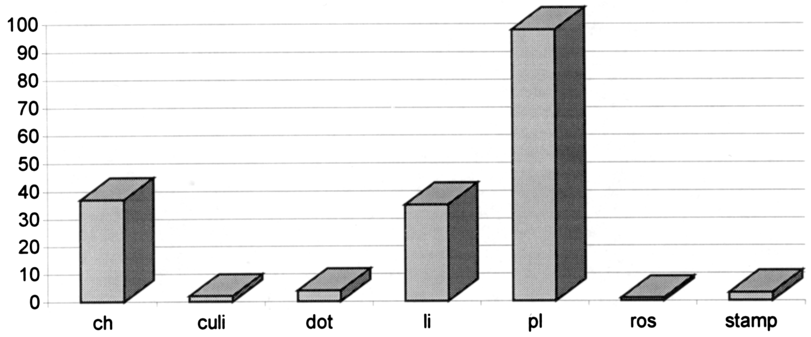

Fig. 6.8. Ornament types at Tigşor, N=180.

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[6] In this analysis I have only distinguished between N-S/ E-W in coarse terms.

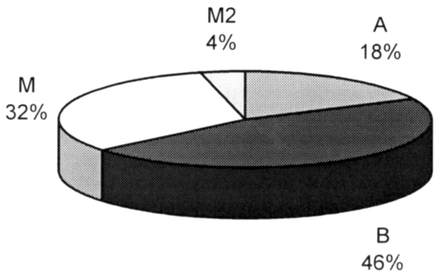

Fig. 6.9. Pottery types at Tigşor, N=228.

Exploring the data

A number of graves were excluded as the analysis went on, because they were without finds or had insignificant variables. Excluding the 107 cremations for separate analysis below is justified by the fact that they diverge so much. Together with the 72 inhumation graves and 74 cremation graves analysed below, more than 50 % of the graves at Tigşor were subjected to a CA analysis. This leaves us with only 23 variables in the final analysis. These variables must have had meaning in terms of chronology, symbolism, ethnicity or social status.

“Male” and “female” graves and their status

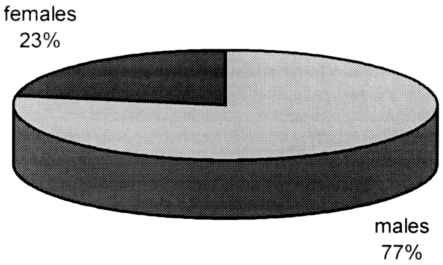

Fig. 6.10. Proportion of males and females assessed from skeletons, N=31.

Ethnicity was not accepted unconditionally in this analysis, which is why it needed justification in the CA analysis. This is why the “Sarmatian” graves were included, though the Geto-Dakian graves, being cremations, are included in the analysis of the Sîntana de Mureş/Chernyakhovo cremation graves. Among the inhumation graves only 11 % of the graves contained skeletons that could be sexed. From here it appeared that around ¾ of the graves contained males whereas only 23% contained females (fig 6.10). The matrix, containing all the information mentioned in the following, (fig 6.11) did not contradict a relation between spindles and sexed females (female), and knives and sexed males (male). Combs occurred in both male and female graves, however, and 1-9 glass beads occurred in male, female and children’s graves. This analysis made me gender a number of unsexed graves, such as graves 200, as female, 230 as male, 193 as female, 275 as male and 79 as male. Also it revealed that females appeared in 25 % of the cases, leaving 25% for the males, 25% for undeterminable graves and 25% for children. As the sum of graves in the matrix is 72, this pattern can be compared with the sample of sexed graves, as the sum here is only 31. Thus, in a relative sense, the sexes may have been more equally distributed than can be assessed from the skeletons of the raw data. Still, we can only determine the sex of 22 % of the cemetery for certain.

Children and adults at Tigşor

In the raw data set, children appear in 29% of the total (fig 6.12). In the CA Analysis, though in a smaller sample, they appear in 24 % of the graves. The similar distribution in both samples suggests that children were underrepresented, because child mortality is expected to be around 50 % (Sellevold et al 1984:208). Since skeletons were present this pattern cannot entirely be due to post-depositional factors.

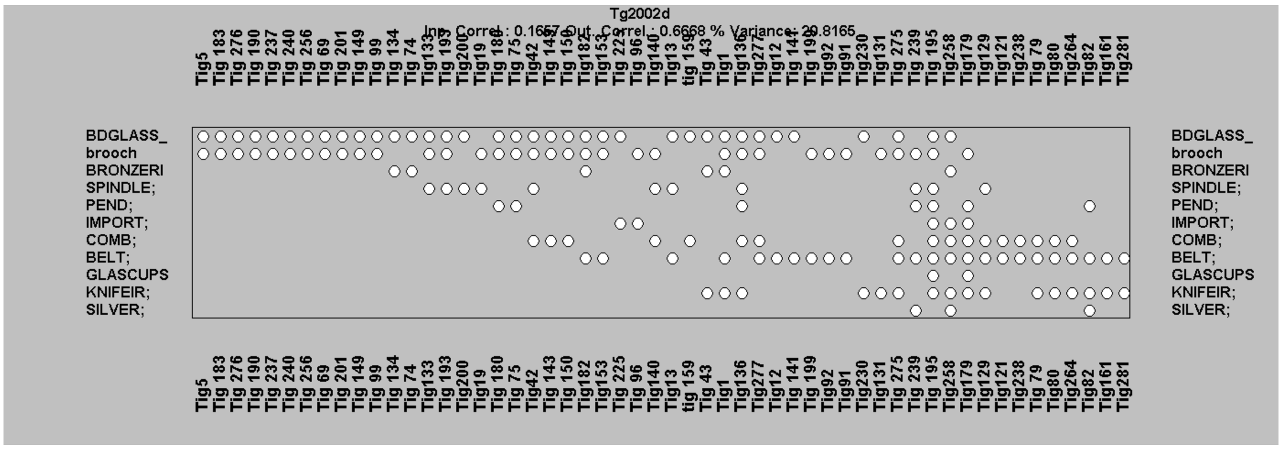

Fig 6.11. Seriation in social space of the inhumation graves in Tigşor

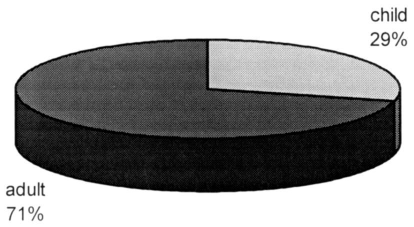

Fig. 6.12. Age at Tigşor, N=163.

As an assessment of child age has not been attempted, it is unclear whether the children are underrepresented in graves because of birth control, status or age. Most children's graves with skeletons seem, however, to contain children beyond infancy. At Tigşor, as in many other cemeteries, one should expect that the social background of the parents of a child was one of the factors for being buried with grave goods. Once buried, however, a group of children has rather standardised grave goods, consisting of between 1-9 beads and 2-3 pots either alone or in that combination. This suggests together with a number of double graves with females and children (182, 134, 58) that children belonged to the female sphere. Because of the standardised combination it has not been possible to assess the sex of the children, suggesting that it did not matter before a certain age. In only one case is a spindle-whorl found in a child grave. 30% of children's graves were not furnished. This pattern varies from the pattern among adults where only 14% of the adult graves were unfurnished, suggesting that adult graves mattered more than children's graves in a social sense. At Tigşor 86 % of all graves contained grave goods. In sum, female graves are as well represented as men's, but among the children there is not a corresponding representation, suggesting that fewer children were buried, regardless of sex.

Combination groups within the graves -- their relative status in time and space

In the scattergram (fig 6.13) from the multivariate CA analysis there is a tendency towards 3, or maybe 4, groups of artefact combinations. Three of the four groups contain graves spanning from an early to a later phase. There is, however a problem because a group of graves distinguishes themselves significantly in the far left side of the scattergram. These are graves 253, 184, 198 and 236. I call them group A. It is here clear that an ethnic and chronological explanation may be behind, because all graves, except for grave 236, independently by Diaconu (1965) have been labelled as being Sarmatian. The reason is off course that these graves appear where artefacts such as silver and gold finger ring, earrings and gold in general is present. Grave 236 is not a Sarmatian grave. It is, however, situated close to the Sarmatian graves in the CA

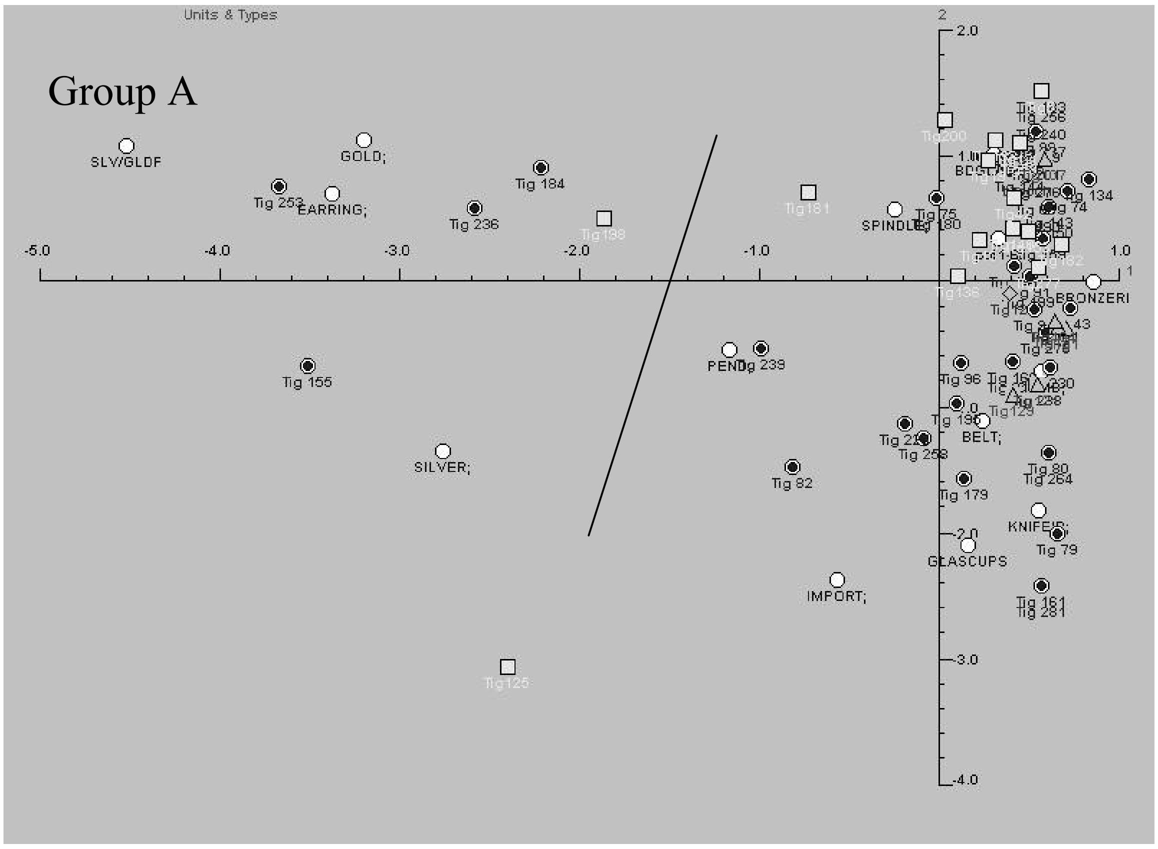

Fig 6.13. (Tg2002a). Sexed males are triangles. Females are squares. Open circles are variables. Semi-filled circles are unsexed graves. SLV/GLDF = silver and gold foil. Earring = earring. Gold = gold. Silver = silver. Pend = pendants. Import = imports. Glascups = glass cups. Knife = knife. Belt = belt. Bronzeri = bronze ring. Spindle = Spindle- whorl. Bdglass = beads of glass. Knifeir = knife of iron

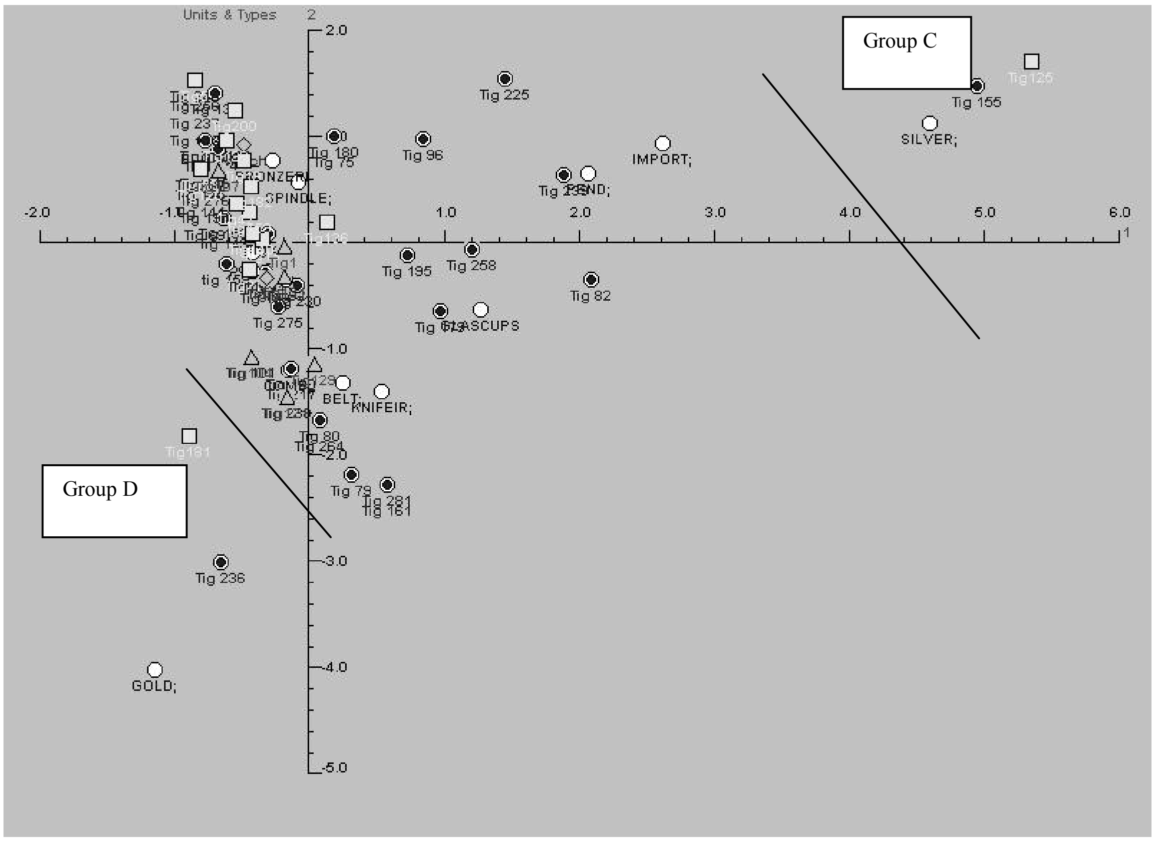

Fig 6.14a. (Tg2002B). Second analysis of Tigsor inhumations without Sarmatian graves included. Key: see fig 6.13.

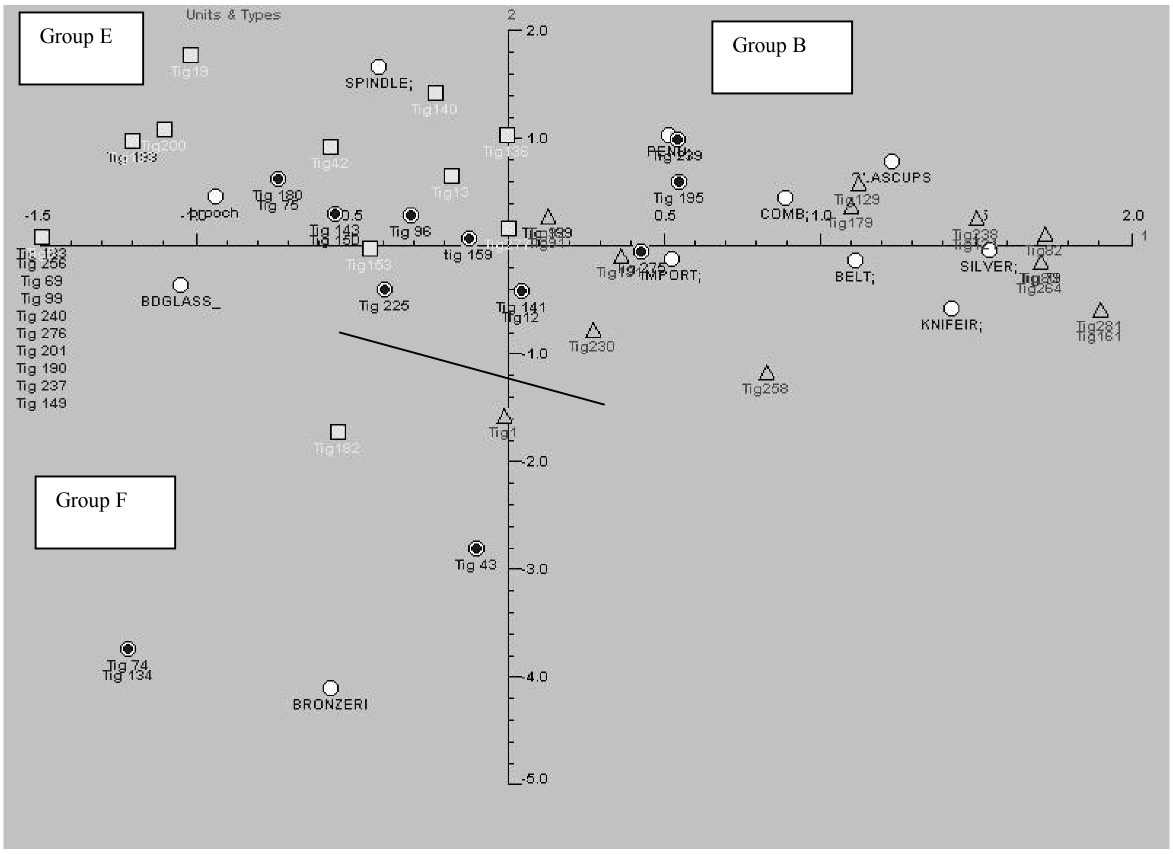

Fig 6.14b. (tg2002d) For an explanation see fig 6.13.

analysis because it contains a gold ring. Also grave 155 contained silver lunulae, which is the reason why it is close to the Sarmatian group. This pattern implies that we need to exclude the Sarmatian graves in an analysis of the Chernyakhovo cemetery because they disturb the picture. Indeed we also have strategraphic examples from the cemetery showing that Sarmatian graves are older than Chernyakhovo graves. It is, however, from the analysis clear that the labelled female and male graves are above and under the x-axis respectively, supporting that female and male artefacts are quite distinct.

In fig 6.14a we see a quite distinct pattern being graves 181 and 236 in the far lower left side. The reason for this is that those graves contain gold, but no silver, meaning that they are relative rich. I call this group D. In the far upper right side appears another distinct group, which only contains silver, but no gold. This group consists of graves 125 and 155. This I call group C. Their internal relation may be discussed when we come to the spatial distribution of the graves. But the fact that they lie so far apart in the CA suggests that they are mutually exclusive. There are no dates, which suggest that the reason may not be due to chronological differences. Thus, it may be interpreted as being due to social factors. The fact that two groups lie so far apart in the CA analysis distorts any picture of other groups; another analysis where group D and C are excluded graves may reveal a clearer pattern for the rest. As also pots seem to occur in both male and female graves, pots are excluded in the following analysis.

What we see in fig 6.14b is a gendered female side towards the left. Moving towards the right a gendered male side occurs. Thus, a group is present appearing together with variables such as imported artefacts, glass cups and pendants, belts, combs, iron knife and silver. Here relatively rich male graves occur. Included in this group are graves, Tig 12, 79, 80, 91, 92, 121, 129, 131, 141, 161, 179, 195, 199, 275, 230, 238, 239, 258, 264, 281. This group I call group B. Most of these graves could be sexed, supporting that they contain gendered "male" combinations of artefacts. As imports, pendants and combs also appear in female graves it tends to subdivide the group into two, but this may not be a real division. It is clear that this group belongs to a relatively prestigious group because it contains imported artefacts and silver. Also glass cups may be prestigious, although it is known that glass is produced in this region. All graves except 264 that dates to C3b, dates to C2/C3 and C3a. Graves 161,121, 264, 281, 79, 82, 80 and 238 to the far right may also have either chronological or social content and will be termed B1. If it does not have chronological content it may be seen as a special male group.

The female group, group E is substantiated by the sexed graves which cluster in this side together with artefacts such as spindle, brooch of any number and glass beads of any number. This group consists of graves 5, 13, 19, 42, 69, 75, 96, 99, 133, 136, 140, 143, 149, 150, 153, 159, 180, 183, 190, 193, 200, 201, 225, 237, 240, 256, 276, 277. Dates vary between C2/C3 and C3a and C3 b. So the variation cannot be due to chronology, and may thus be due to social/gendered factors.

In the last group, group F, bronze rings are present. From the plot it lies in the female side but away from the rest of the group in the lower left side below the -1.0 on the y-axis. The relative status of this group remains to be assessed. First we need to discuss the chorological distribution. This group consists of only graves 1, 43,74,134,182. Only grave 182 can be dated to C3b.

The chorological distribution and family groups (fig 6.15)

Group D and C graves containing gold without silver and silver without gold lie centrally at the site opposite each other. This could indicate that they consisted of two distinct social groups. Grave 155 from group D could not be sexed but belonged to a mature skeleton. The content of the grave suggest that it was a female. Its importance is supported by the fact that other graves respect it, although it held a low NAT value of 1. They are all situated at least two metres away from grave 155 suggesting that a mound or some sort of marker was present. It contained a silver lunula. Possibly, family members of **this family group I** surround the important grave, as we saw at the Hjemsted cemetery in Denmark. If so it must have been graves 80, 79 that belong to a relative rich group of men, either the sons and/or a husband. Those graves held a NAT number of 4. Grave 78 being a child grave also belongs to this family. Grave 276 could also belong to this group. Graves 152 and 155 also belongs to this group.

Grave 125 belongs to a female child. It contained a Roman silver coin belonging to Antonius Pius 161 AD. It is situated in a group of graves that lie concentrically in a group of graves that could be dated date to C2-C3. Because of the silver in this group, I suggest that this is **family group II** and that it had relative importance. Grave 275 could be the leading male, though graves 129 and 131 seem equally important. Grave 121 may be a later grave.

Of other silver graves we have grave 258. It was a rich grave and contained an amphora. It was a male grave and could have been the leading male of **family group III**. Grave 256 could be the spouse of the male in that this grave was rather well equipped.

Grave 239 is and adult grave of importance. It lies in a row with grave 240 which I suggest may be female from the CA analysis. I suggest that this may be **family group IV**. With is descendants lying in a row to the north and south. Its limitation is not clear.

Grave 82 is an important male grave and the leading spouse may be grave 75, which contained prestigious glass beads. Also graves 99 and 69 contained a female with a child, also a part of family group IV.

Of group C graves containing a gold ring we see that grave 236 contained a mature person. This suggests that

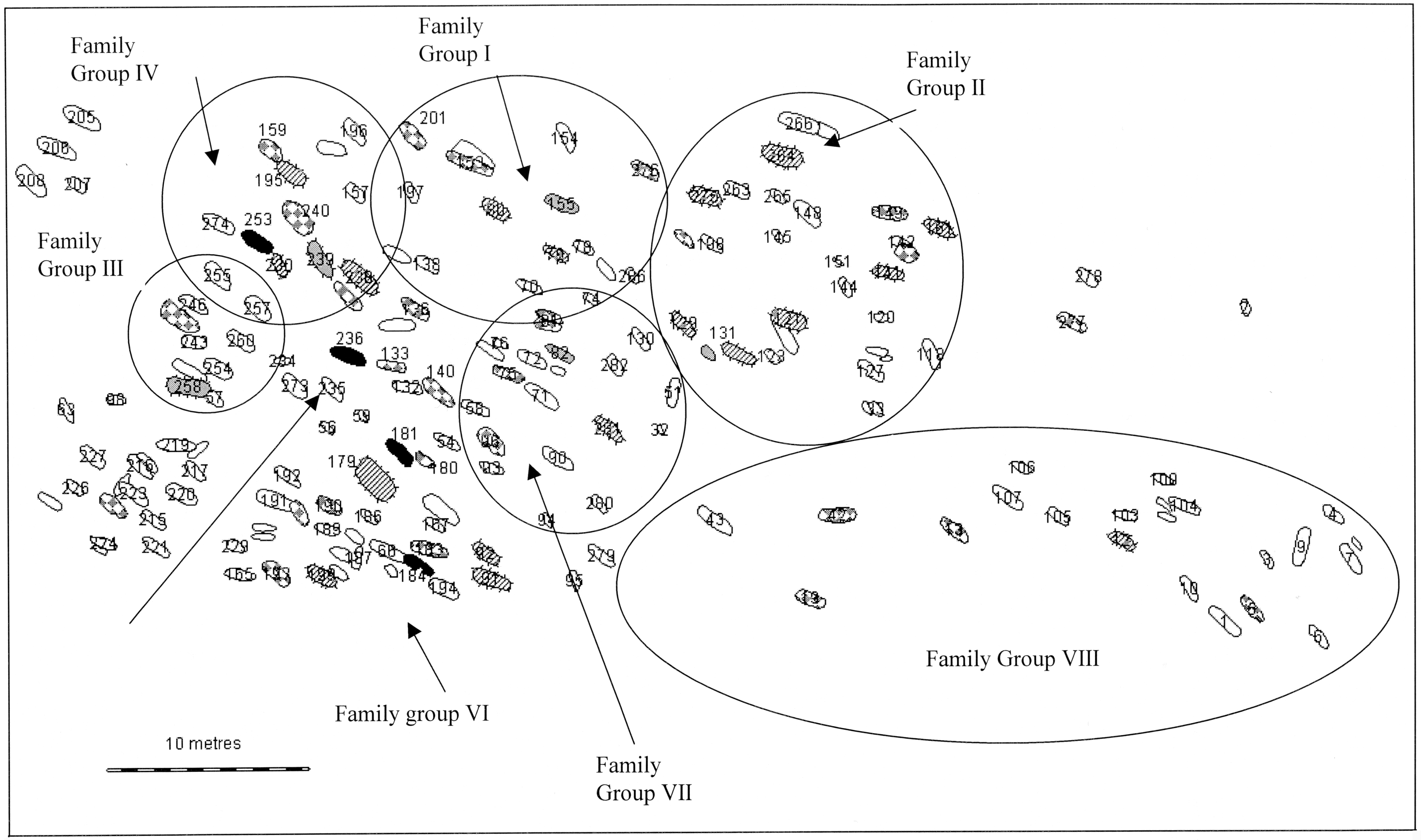
Family
Group IV
Family
Group I
Family
Group II
Family
Group III
Family group VI
Family
Group VII
Family Group VIII
10 metres
159
195
253
240
201
131
236
133
140
181
180
179
184
32

Fig 6.15. Inhumations at Tigsor. Black graves are graves with gold, grey graves with silver. Hatched graves are gendered and sexed female graves; graves with stripes are gendered and sexed male graves. The circles are hypothesised family groups. Some circles overlap where there is doubt. (Drawing and Graphics the author, from Diaconu's plan 1965.)

the grave may have belonged to a leading person as also suggested by the fact that it was respected by other graves at the site with a distance of at least a metre to the closest grave. The closest grave was a female suggesting that this was the spouse of **family group V.**

Grave 181 was a sexed female grave containing gold among a number of beads. It could probably be the wife of the person in the male grave 179, which from its size and position could be a leading family, called **family group VI**. Both graves date to C3a. These three graves are respected by all other graves with a distance of at least 2 metres except from grave 180 that was a child grave. Possibly grave 180 and other graves close to graves 181 and 179 belonged to the family.

Family group VII is placed centrally at the site and contains the male grave 82 with silver. It could be the leading spouse and grave 75 could be the spouse. Graves 99, 69 and 281 could be a part of the family.

Family group VIII is placed towards the south at the cemetery. It is, however, scattered quite widely. The leading spouses could be graves 1 and grave 5, being male and female respectively.

Grave 182 containing bronze ring belongs to group F. This group could be a relatively late phenomenon in that it dates to C3b. Also this group contains both male and female graves. Close to grave 182 lies grave 167 that belongs to a mature person.

Grave 184 and 253 containing gold are Sarmatian and will not be discussed further here. Whether this group is a part of family group VI or it is a separate group is unclear.

Group B and E are not social but gendered groups. On the plan one sees that males and females are distributed evenly. As already suggested with grave 179 and 181, this points to the possibility that males and females were buried in family groups of equal importance. The leading spouse was buried centrally with relatives buried around them. The graves in these two groups are included in the discussion above of the family groups.

Leading family groups

In sum, the structures found from the CA analysis of the inhumation graves cannot be interpreted on chronological grounds, as the spread of datable graves within the groups is too wide. Neither was it possible to trace any clear-cut ethnic patterns, except for the Sarmatian graves. Basing status on the presence of imports and rare metal as well as a high average NAT value together with the combination analysis above makes the following hierarchy of graves possible. Group A, has an ethnic and social dimension in that it contained gold and different material culture. It belonged to the older Sarmatian contingent on the site. Group C and D must have had the highest status in that they contained silver and gold. They were placed centrally at the site and distinguished themselves significantly in the CA analysis. The graves in this group could belong to the leading families of the site. Otherwise, a pattern of relative equality is what we see on the site.

In social terms, groups B and E represent the mainstream groups. Those are gendered male and female groups respectively, a fact that is substantiated by the sexed graves that appear together with material culture that have symbolic content in terms of gender. There is a tendency for a group in the far right of fig 6.14, group B1 with relatively well-equipped male graves. Looking through the content in the graves does not suggest that it is a clear chronological pattern, which is why it must be seen as a social subgroup. These groups fall within the different family groups and could be a group of special males within the family. Otherwise graves are distributed evenly over the site, which suggest that we must look for a family structure not a gendered structure. Group F is difficult to explain but it may either be a special combination which meaning we may not account for or it may be a later phenomenon.

In sum, on the layout of the cemetery there is no separate grouping between the genders, the ages, as most female and male graves were placed next to each other. Also there were no separate social groups placed in a special place of the cemetery, except for the graves with silver and gold. These graves were placed centrally at the site. The fact that social and gendered groups were scattered over the entire site implies that people were buried according to an ideal of a family group of a farm unit to which they belonged. Each farm buried its family in a group, only respecting the rich farms that furnished its dead with silver and gold. When burying their family of the farm they divided their dead members of the family internally according to a set of symbolic rules, relating to social status and gender. These rules are identified in the artefact combinations in the graves within the family groups, a fact that is substantiated by the chorological distribution at Tigşor.

Analysis of the cremation graves at Tigşor

The bones in these cremations were not analysed. Thus, one cannot identify sex, age, orientation and position of the body. One can, however, identify group combinations from the material culture and estimate gender and social structure.

A number of variables are not present among the cremation graves at the cemetery. These are ornamentation types such as rosettes, stamps, vertical ornamentation as well as amphorae. The number of pots rarely exceeds 6. There were also few beads found in cremations. Other artefacts that were absent in comparison to the inhumation graves are: circular belt buckles, iron rings, combs, coins, foil fibula, the combination of 2-3 fibulae. Also there are no gold, lunulae, imports, silver, gold finger rings, or any other special jewellery of any other sort. In two graves appeared a shield boss and a spear which both are quite unusual in this region. The missing variables exclude the following graves which have no grave goods: 15, 20, 29, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 60, 61, 81, 85, 86, 97, 108, 115, 116, 117, 124, 126, 135, 139, 164, 168, 170, 171, 173, 203, 283, 284. These will be called status group 5 and their relative status will be discussed under the discussion of the chorological distribution of the graves at the cemetery. This exclusion leaves 74 graves for the CA analysis of the cremation graves.

Combination groups among cremation graves

The CA analysis revealed a tendency to three major groups of combinations of material culture (fig 6.16). Graves 147 and 16 disturb the picture so they are excluded and named *group 3*. They probably belong to graves 110, 22, 21, and 178, 271, 272 and 268. This is defined as a group and we have to acknowledge that many of those contained a Bronze ring. This group is by Diaconu dated between the 3rd and 4th century AD (1965:136). From the content of the graves, he suggests this group to be Geto-Dacians, a pattern that has been substantiated independently by the present analysis.

Also grave 47 deviates because it contains a rectangular belt buckle. Belt buckle will be excluded in the next analysis. Also multi-state variables such as 1-6 pots may bias the picture; that is the reason why they are excluded.

Thus, a clear picture occurs where we see a seriation. *Group 1* is placed in the far right side and consisted of 38 graves that contained mainly: one pot, spindles, K, J and S types of pots (fig 6.17). There were also a majority of handmade pots as well as dots and chevrons on the pots. They also contained types E, D, M and plain pots. These were graves 48, 68, 64, 25, 14, 158, 31, 26, 112, 53, 252, 242, 269, 24, 244, 41, 202, 84, 66, 45, 249, 232, 231, 11, 44, 163, 109, 176, 45, 28, 250, 248, 270, 212, 32, 46, 245, 213. Bridging the knowledge from the inhumation graves where spindles usually equalled females, a preliminary interpretation is that these graves are female graves.

The second *group 2* consisted of 21 graves. These are graves 162, 89, 113, 146, 30, 247, 111, 233, 83, 88, 23, 251, 49, 156, 87, 241, 65, 209, 17, 204, and 218. The clear division around 0.0 of the scattergram (fig 6.17) suggests, however, that group 2 is a "real", though heterogeneous, group. In Group 2 the widest range of material is found. Curvilinear and linear ceramics are in the majority in this group. Type M pots are by far the most dominant type in this group, though type A is also present. Also the number of pots in each grave is higher in this group, ranging from 1-5 pots with dominance on

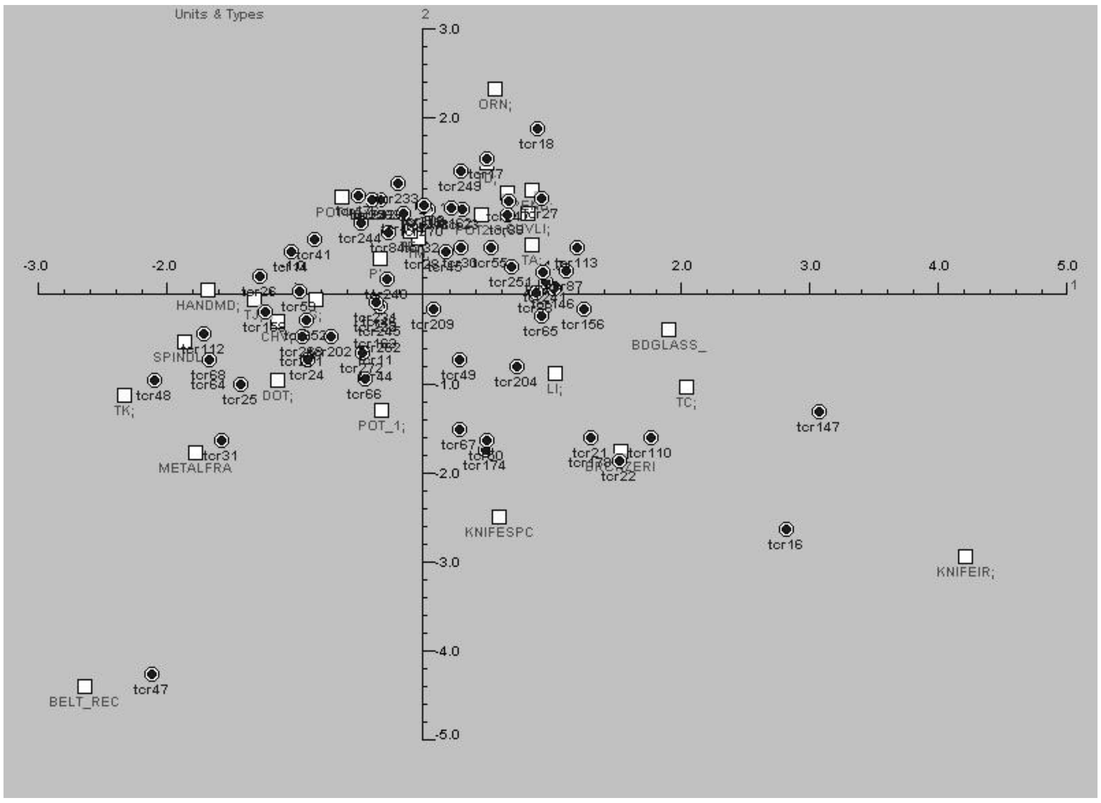

Fig 6.16. The first CA analysis (TCR2002.orw).). Squares are variables, semi-filled circles are graves. Key: Belt_rec = rectangular belt. Metalfra = metal fragment. TK = Pot, type K. Spindle = spindle- whorl. Handmd = handmade. TJ = Pot type J. Chr = chevron ornament. Dot = dotted ornament. S = pot type S. Pot_1 = 1 pot in the grave. Pl = plain pots. TE = pots of type E. TM = pots of type M. Pot2_3 = 2 to 3 pots in the grave. TA = pot type A. Cuvli = curvi liniear ornamentation. Pend = pendants. TD = pot type D. orn = ornamentation any type. Knifespc = special knife. Bronzeri = Bronze ring. TC = pot, type C. Bdglass_ = beads of glass. Knifeir = knife of Iron.

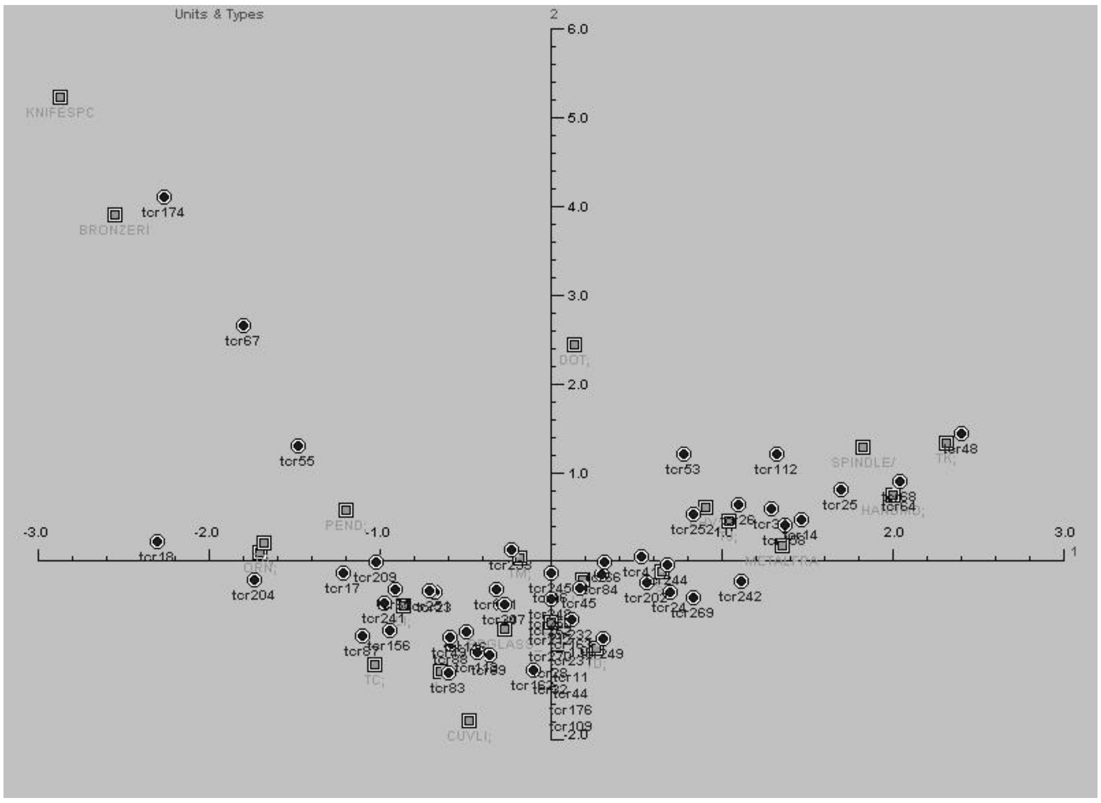

Fig 6.17. (file tcr2002a).Circles are graves (units), squares are variables (types). Key see fig 6.16.

2-3 pots. In some cases 1-9 beads are scattered over the group, not suggesting any particular pattern of gender dominating this heterogeneous group.

Also we have a group of combinations in *group 4*, where special knives and bronze rings are present. These are graves 55, 67, and 174. This suggests that this group in some way was special.

Interpreting the groups

Analysis of the graves from Group 3 also supports their distinctiveness in that they all belong to the previously defined, so-called Geto-Dacian, group of cremations. Their combinations are quite striking and can only be explained in ethnic and/or social terms. As mentioned at the start, it is obvious that no graves disturb the Geto-Dacian graves, so a chronological explanation alone is not possible. Interestingly, it is in graves 147 and 16 that the weapons appeared. This, together with the high NAT value as well as the presence of glass and a fibula in grave 147[7] (Diaconu 1965:170), suggests that rich Geto Dacians were buried here. The brooch and the glass suggest a date that is contemporary with the first inhumation graves, belonging to C2/C3. It is possible that grave 147 and 16 succeeded each other, being the highest in the hierarchy, meaning that grave 16 is older. The presence of three Geto-Dacian graves among Sîntana de Mureş/Chernyakhovo graves in group 1 suggests that their meaning was different within the Geto-Dacian group. The remaining presence of only one pot indicates that they were poorer graves of the Geto Dacian community; alternatively they belonged to the females. Only by looking at the chorological placing of these graves one can substantiate this hypothesis.

Chorological structures at the Tigşor cemetery

The chorological setting of the Geto-Dacian graves substantiates that there is a difference between the “rich” and “poor” groups. Between the rich graves, which are placed in a group to the west (graves 16, 110, 22, 21, 147) there is a distance of at least 15-20 meters towards the east (graves 268, 272, 271) (fig 6.18a) where the poorer graves are placed. In short, the hypothesis that there is a symbolic social division in artefact combinations among the Geto-Dacians as well as in space can be substantiated.

The chorological distribution among the Sîntana de Mureş/Chernyakhovo cremation graves leads two ways. If a spindle as inferred from the sexed inhumation graves is accepted as associated with female graves, this means that Group 1 must be females. Group 3 mainly being Geto Dacian by implication means that group 2 must consist of males and/or children and/or females (Fig 6.18b). If this is accepted then the chorological pattern can be explained in two ways. 1) Either the cremation cemetery was a common cemetery without any spatial division with females and males/children being spread randomly over the entire area. 2) Alternatively, as I suggest, there is a tendency for the cremation graves to be divided up into 4, perhaps five, family groups with females and male/children in all groups. If it is accepted that this spatial division is not due to excavation techniques, the cremation cemetery must be explained in the same way as the inhumation cemetery. This means that it is divided into family groups. Here there is little internal social hierarchy. The only symbolism we detect is in group 4, where we see grave goods, such as special knives and Bronze rings that could belong to persons with higher status. Those graves are places centrally at the site in two central family groups, family group II and V. Those two family groups could be the richer families around which the common families were buried. As grave 174 cuts grave 178 group 4 may also be a slightly later phenomenon.

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[7] Grave 147 is not to be found on the map, which is why grave 197 must be grave 147.

Cremation and inhumations

As some of the cremations are cut by inhumation graves and some inhumation graves are cut by cremations one may see both types of burials as partly contemporary. Judging from the quality of the material preserved one could speculate that inhumations may have been more important than cremations, though this observation cannot account for the content of the ritual of the cremations. Holding the suggested family groups against each other from the inhumation graves and the cremation graves the first thing that strikes is that the most important graves among the cremation graves and inhumation graves coincide in space. We see that family group II of the cremations is placed among the inhumations of family group VI, a relatively important family. Also family group V of the cremations coincide in relative wealth with the presence of a silver grave in family group VII of the inhumation cemetery. If this is the case there is one indication that the difference in ritual was connected to the status of the deceased.

Speculation about the size of population at Tigşor

Though Tigşor is not totally excavated, an attempt is made to assess population size of the average minimum number of individuals. Using the previously mentioned formula P= a x b/c[8], the sum of graves at Tigşor is 280; the number of years ca. 150. Including children a not unrealistic average life expectancy rate is 40 years. Thus the formula looks like this 280 x 40/ 150 = 75 persons lived in average at Tigşor. Given that an average household is 8 or 9 persons this means that there were on average 8 households at Tigşor at the time. This calculation fits well with the number of groups in the inhumation cemetery being 7 groups, but less well with the cremation group, being 5 groups. We cannot get closer to the size of the settlement where the dead from Tigşor were buried.

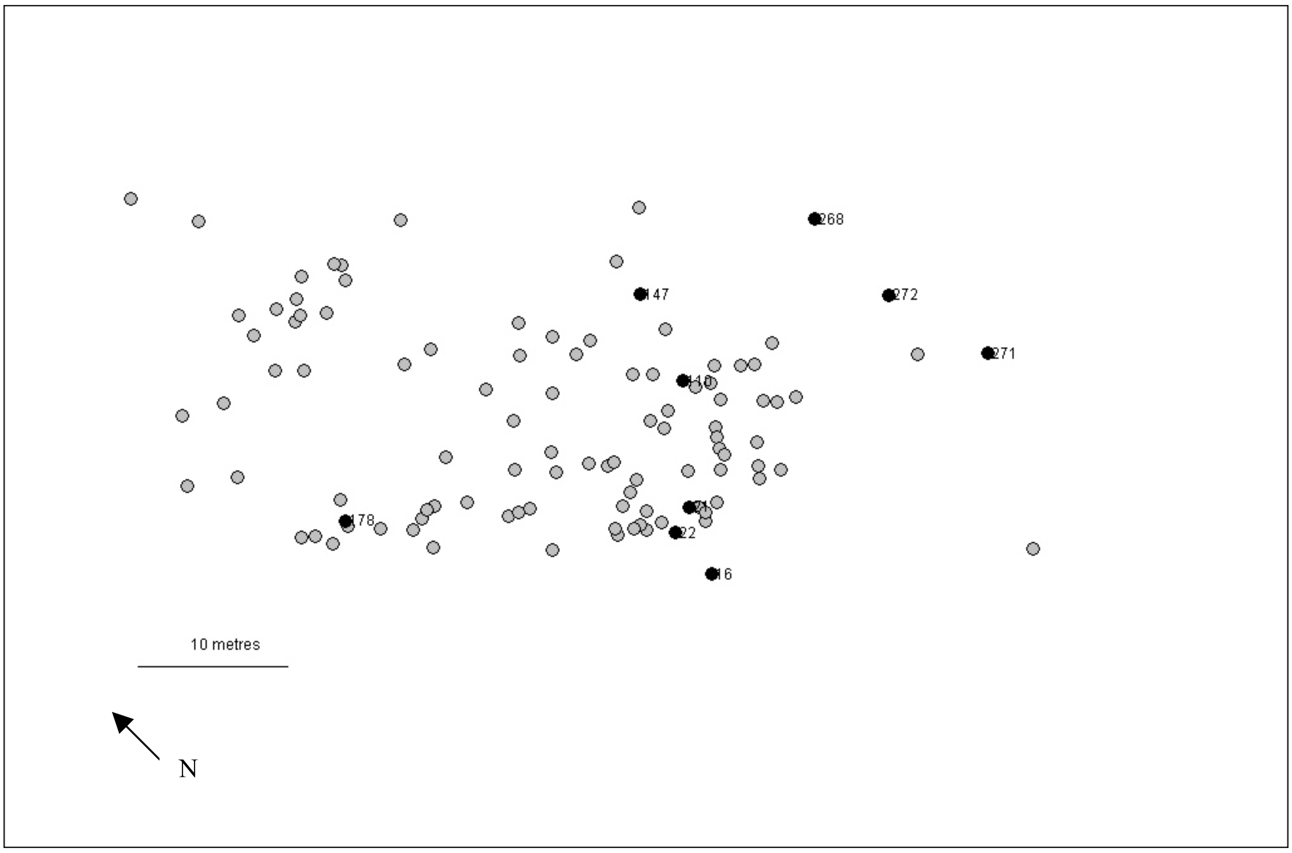

Fig 6.18a. Spatial distribution of Geto-Dacian graves (group 3) on the cremation site at Tigsor. Filled circles are Geto-Dacian graves on the site.

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[8] See chapter four for a discussion of this formula.

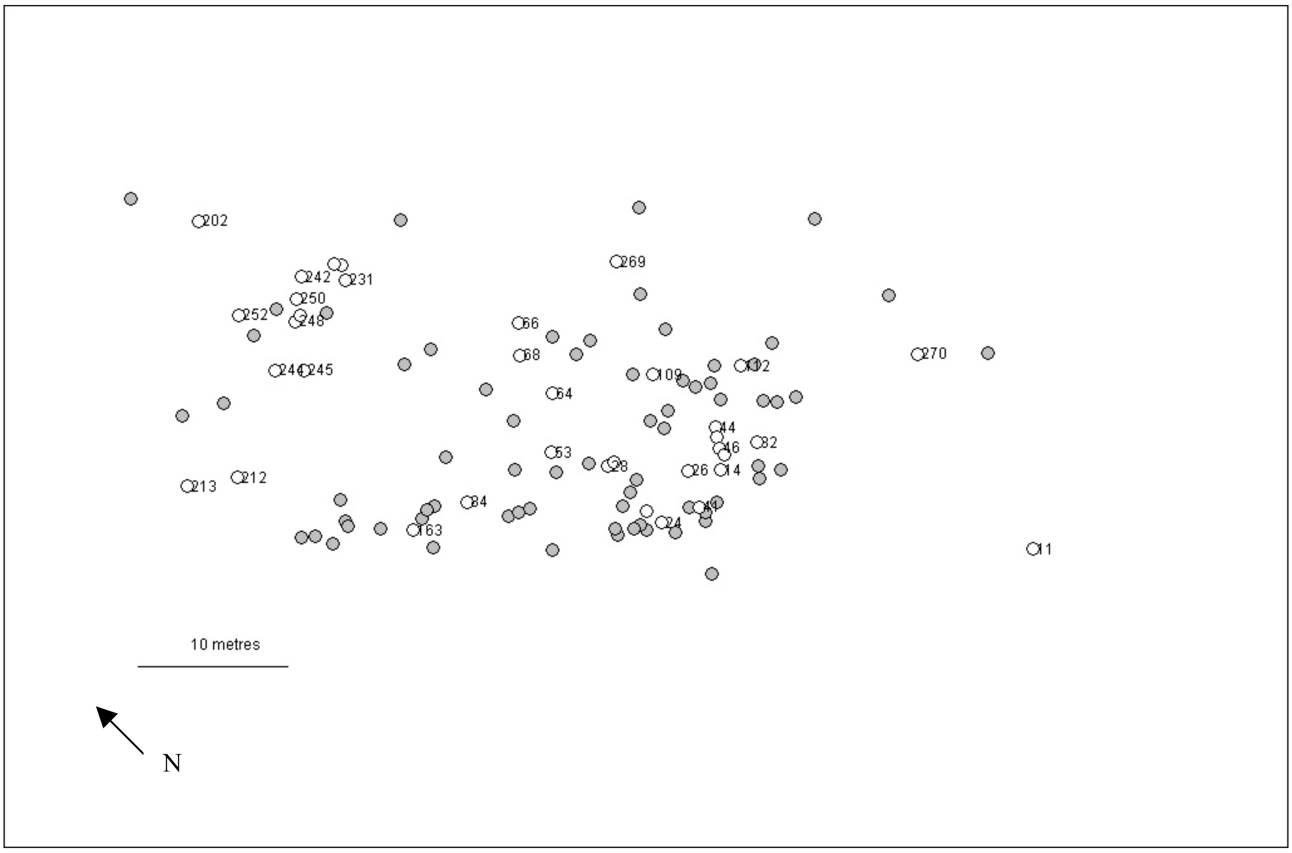
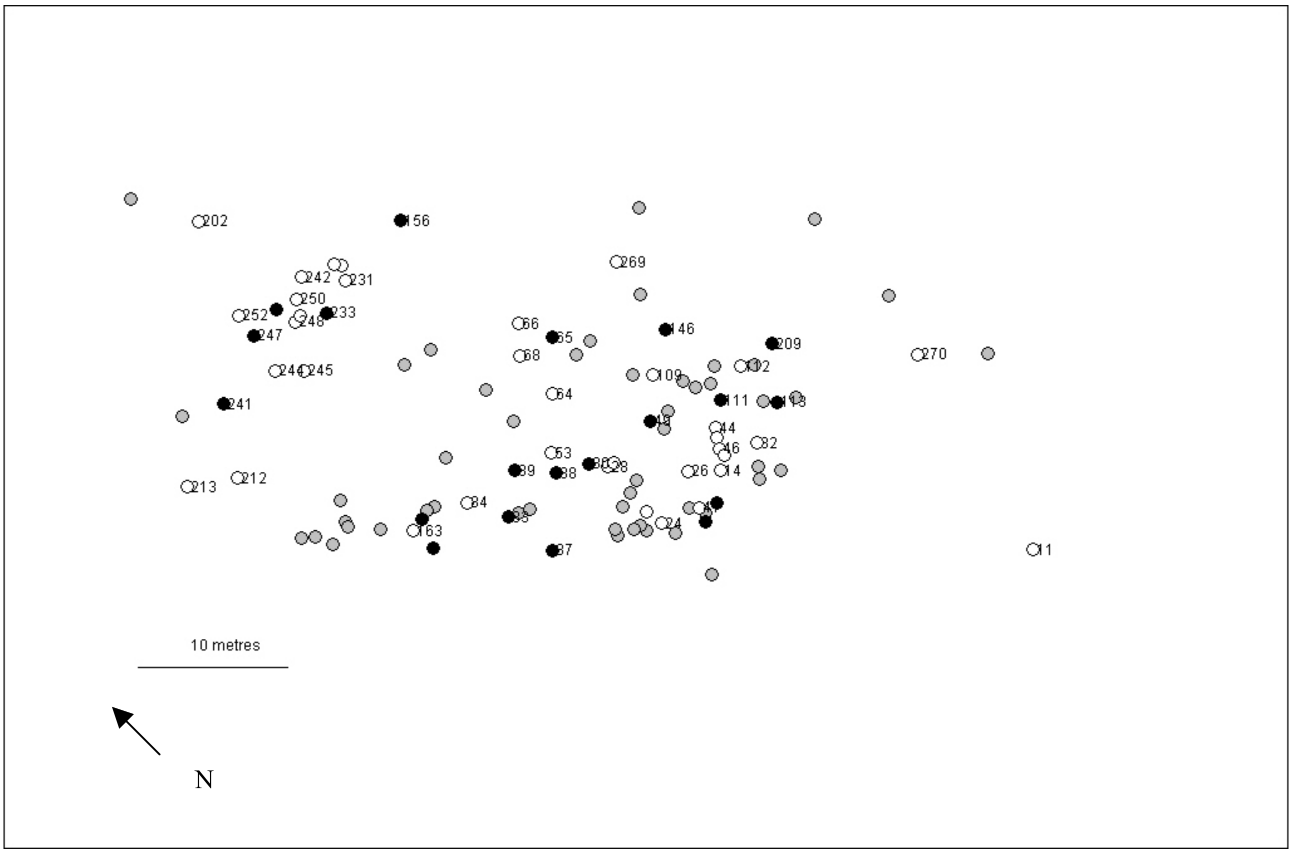

202
242
231
250
252
248
244
245
213
212
269
66
68
64
53
28
84
63
109
102
44
46
82
26
14
24
270
11
10 metres
N

Fig 6.18b. Graves belonging to group 1. Open circles are Group 1 graves.


202
156
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68
64
109
102
111
113
53
89
88
28
84
63
37
26
14
24
270
11
10 metres
N

Fig 6.18c. Group 1&2. The open circles are group 1, filled circles are group 2. Notice that they are placed next to each other.

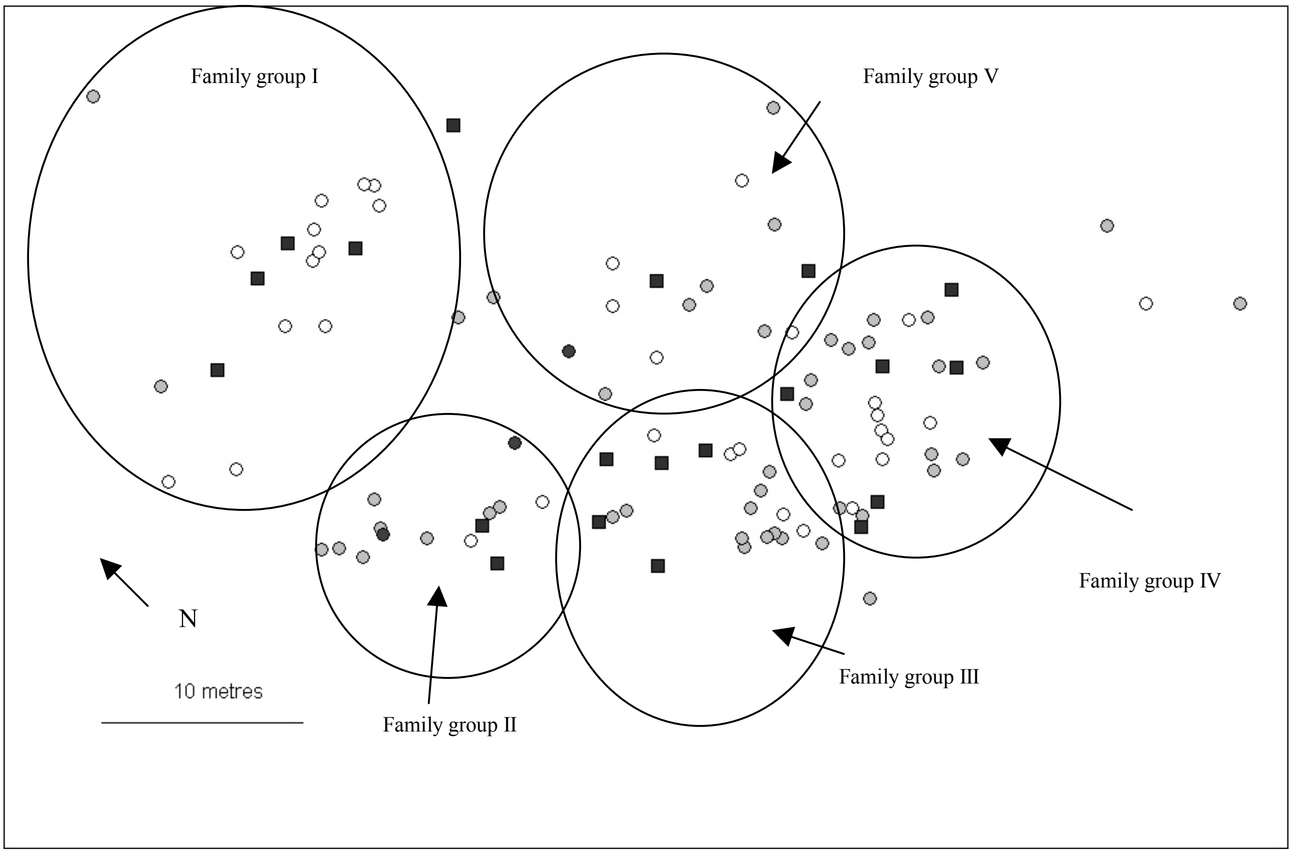
Family group I
Family group V
Family group IV
Family group III
Family group II
N
10 metres

Fig 6.18d. Spatial distribution of groups 1,2 and 4. Group 1 open circles, group 2 filled squares, group 4 filled circles. Grey circles are graves without information of status and have been called group 5. They must be considered graves with the lowest status. The large circles indicate possible family groups numbered I-V.

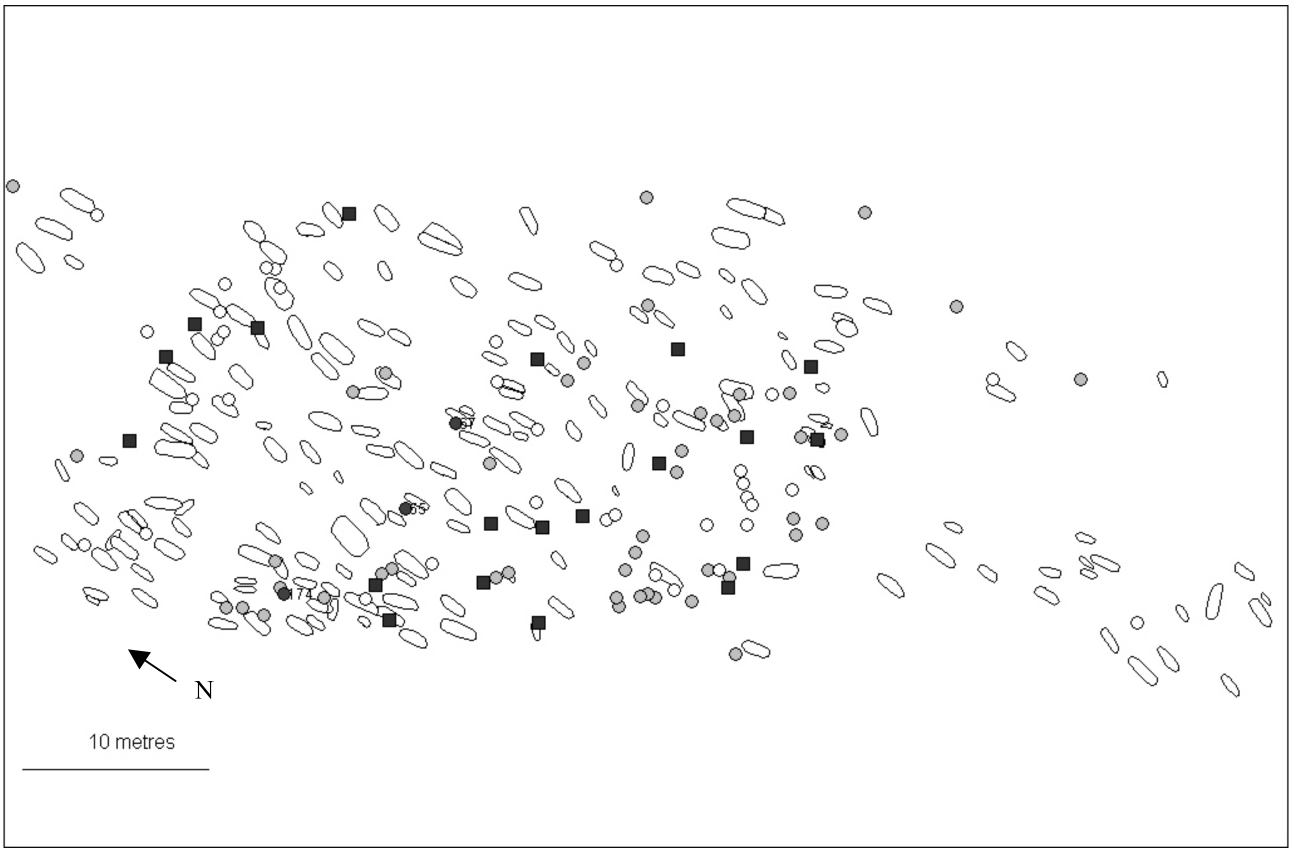
67
55
174
N
10 metres

Fig 6.18e. Cremations and inhumations together.

Simulating Gothic social structure

If it is accepted that the inhumation cemetery is divided into 5 family groups in the early cremation period, and into 7 groups in the later inhumation period then it suggests that the family-household mattered more than the entire community in the burial ritual. This again suggests that a change from an egalitarian communal burial custom (Kokowski et al 1995:28-29) of the Wielbark culture of the 1st and 2nd second centuries had taken place in the Chernyakhovo culture when it spread into south eastern Europe. This implies that we should expect enclosed farmsteads, maybe similar to the ones at Vorbasse in Denmark (Hvass 1983), as has been observed in Scandinavia from ca AD 200, although in the Pontic area large-scale excavations have only just begun.

In other words, the cemetery of Tigşor may be divided into 4-8 different family groups over 4 generations belonging to a farm. The farm unit buried its dead according to a burial custom that showed status *within* the farm unit, only less so between the farmsteads. The exception is the rich group D of the inhumations, where all graves cluster together in the centre of the cemetery. They suggest that the family of this farmstead was socially above the others in the settlement, indicating that the family or its mourners belonged to the more powerful group of society, maybe the kin, lineage or clan of the local *reiks* (Wolfram 1988:94). The appearance of gold and silver only here, and the lack of handmade pots indicate the importance of this group, together with the central position at the site.

The connection between gold and the chief god of Odin (Hauck 1987:152) could also be an explanation of the exclusive presence of gold in this group. Thus, gold not only symbolises wealth, but also a connection to power in a general sense. Before Christianity, this could have been the chief god, Odin, or Gaut as the Goths called him (Wolfram 1988:110). A number of well-equipped male graves in group B1 that are placed in the far right of the scattergram in fig 6.14, could be "special men's" graves. These could belong either to the retinues (*gardans*) or to the leading men of the farm. The presence of combs, belt buckles and knives could thus be interpreted as symbols of power. The combs connect power with hair, as is also suggested in the written sources as well as in later ethnographic evidence as discussed in Chapter one. Also, buckles seem to develop into a symbol of power in the later archaeological evidence. This, together with their close position to the "rich" group suggests that the group had a special meaning. Their meaning may be interpreted either as the leaders or as the retainers of the local community. The patron of the leaders was Odin, as is also indicated in the rich areas of Southern Scandinavia such as Gudme.

That society was becoming more stratified is indicated partly by the family groups showing internal differences in wealth, partly *ex silentio* by the unfurnished or poorly furnished graves within each family group. I suggest that the unfurnished graves or the cremation graves belonged to the thralls or *skalks,* as they were called in the Gothic language. There is only slight archaeological evidence for that, namely the fact that the family groups of the cremations coincide with the family groups of the inhumations suggesting that these groups belonged to the same family.

Fusing this picture with the literary sources from the passion of St. Saba it is apparent that society changed drastically around the middle of the 4th century (Wolfram 1988). The supposed six main regions with centres belonging to each part of the Gothic tribe (Kropotkin 1984; Wolfram 1988; Heather 1996:54) support the contention that society was changing towards a concentration of power and identity. Thus, the social structure read from the material culture at Tigşor is interwoven with the descriptions of the written sources, though a direct link between the *reiks* and the prestigious family at Tigşor cannot be made before other contemporary cemeteries and find categories have been included in a larger analysis. Regional analyses of a number of cemeteries would support or reject the picture only just revealed at the Tigşor site. In the case of Tigşor, one can only hope that new excavation techniques will reveal farmsteads, spreading over as many centuries as the ones found in Denmark and the rest of Free Germania. DNA analyses of the skeletons would also be a way to substantiate the hypothesis presented above, because they could confirm a family relation between the buried. Also, one could hope for a full excavation of the Tigşor cemetery in the future. Until this happens we may look at other published cemeteries in the area.

Other sites in the region

In 1966 a catalogue of the cemeteries Spantov, Independenta, Olteni and Izvorul of the south-eastern part of Romania was published by P. Mitrea and C. Preda (1966). The cemeteries came from the region of Muntenia. Though the sites are not totally excavated, one may, from a comparison between them, be able to see tendencies in similarities and differences in social structure within them and with Tigşor, with which they are contemporary (Mitrea et al. 1966:166).

Izvorul

Izvorul is situated 25 km ENE from the town of Giurgiu[9]. It has been dated roughly to the 4th century. It was dug in the years 1954 and 1962 -1964, but was not totally excavated. There were 32 graves of which only one was a cremation; it was 3% of cremations out of the sample. It was not possible to sex the skeletons, although an assessment has been made of the age in some of the inhumations. Here, it was obvious that 65% of the graves belonged to adults and 35 % to children. It was not possible to assess the placing of the skeletons in a convincing way. From those, which could be identified, most skeletons were placed in the supine position as at Tigşor. There were no traces of coffins in the graves. Most graves were oriented N-S. The majority of pots were wheel-thrown.

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[9] Giurgiu is situated just at the Danube on the southern border to Bulgaria. It is around this area that the region of Muntenia is situated (see fig 5.1).

Among the grave-goods no runes were identified. The majority of pot types were type B, the three-sectioned pots without handle, followed by types M, the open bowls, and type A, the jug. All two latter are represented in 30% of the cases, type B in 40 %. Type M2 was not present. There were no amphorae identified, nor were there any "Geto-Dacian" cups found in the cemetery. In the burial ritual, the number of pots that occurred in most graves was 2-3 pots, followed by 4-5 pots that occurred in almost a third of the graves. Six and more pots occurred in only 16 % of the graves, whereas only 1 pot in the grave appeared in only 5 % of the cases. The ornamentation on pots was mainly plain, followed by linear ornamentation that most often occurred in plastic form.

The artefacts in the graves were poor. There was very little precious metal in the graves; silver only appeared in 4 graves (graves 9, 17, 19, 32), that is 12 % of the sample, gold only in 1 (grave 17). Grave 17 also had the only earrings on site. There were no rings of precious metal but there was one bronze ring in grave 6. Apart from this import there were no other imports in the graves, given that glass was not imported, because there were 2 glass cups in the cemetery. Also there were no weapons in the graves, nor any amber beads. Of other finds, there were a number of glass beads and belt buckles and brooches, combs and spindle-whorls. There were neither shells nor animal bones in these graves. The average NAT value of the graves is 1.96. The relatively poor graves and the lack of sexing of the graves, makes it important to run a CA analysis of the graves on the site to assess the invisible structures and whether they are compatible to the Tigşor graves.

Graves with only one find cannot be included in a CA analysis, which is why graves 1,2,3,5,18,20,22, 25,26 and 29 must be excluded. This leaves 22 graves for the CA

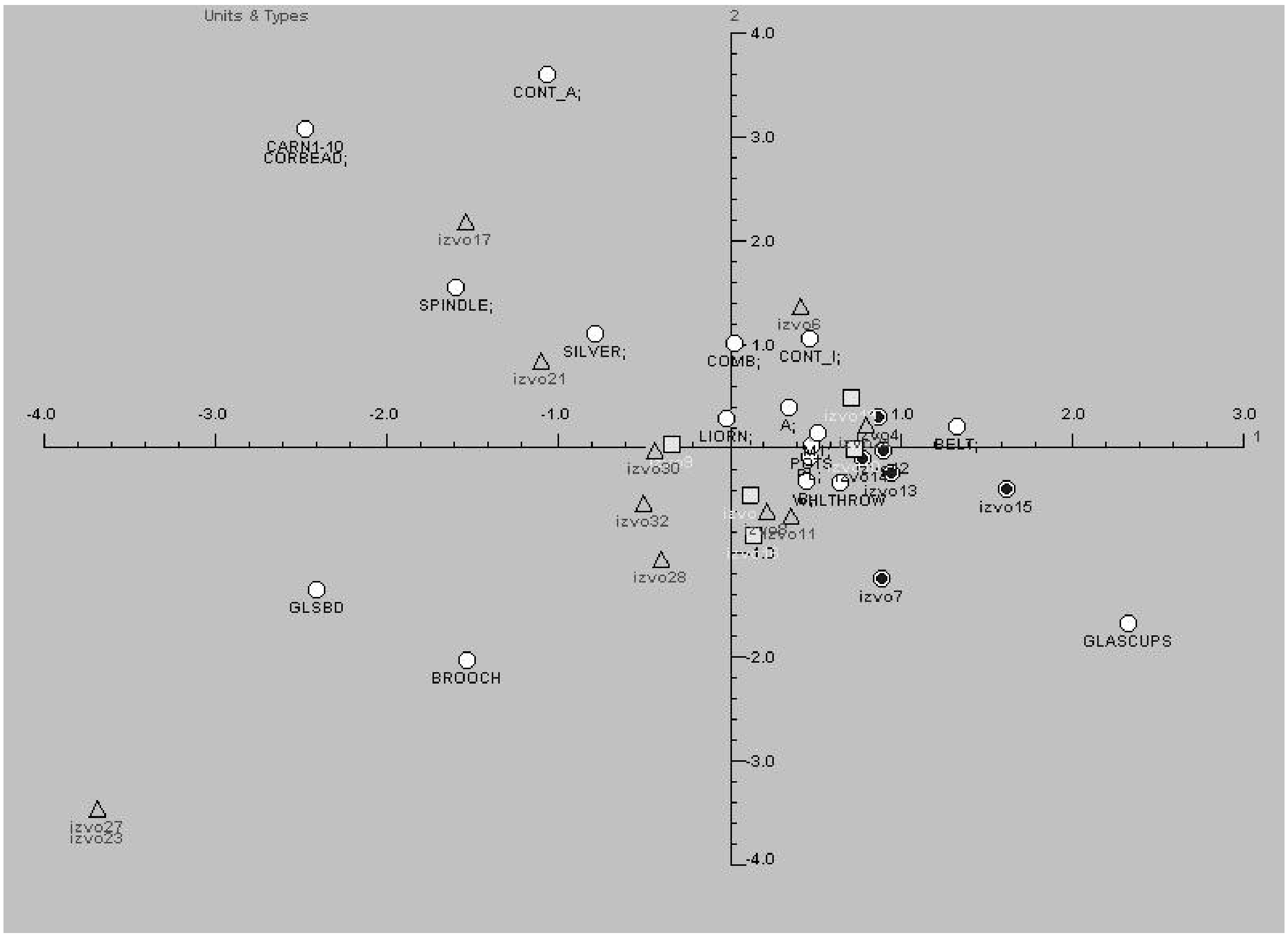

Fig 6.19. (Izv2002c) CA analysis of graves from the Izvorul cemetery. Squares are child graves, triangles are adult graves. Filled circles are unsexed graves. Open circles are variables. Key: Brooch = brooch any type. GLSBD = Glass bead. Spindle = Spindle-whorl. Silver = Silver. Liorn = Linear ornamentation. Comb = Comb any type. Cont_A. Container placed in the head end of the grave. Carn1_10. = Carnelian beads. Corbead = cordoned beads. Cont_I Container placed in the foot end of the grave. A = Pot of type A. M1 = pots of type M1. Pots = any pot. Pl. = plain pots. B = pots of type B. Whlthrow = wheel-thrown pots. Belt = belt any type. Glascups = glass cups.

analysis. Fig 6.19 reveals a pattern where there are males in the right side and female graves towards the left. Graves 23 and 27 deviate very much but only by being very poor. If these are excluded the pattern is the following: It was not possible to determine whether the number of pots was an indicator of status. The special male graves 7 and 15 only contained between 2 and 4 pots. It seems that in this group the presence of glass cups was an indicator of status. In both graves the pots were wheel-thrown. Both graves contained M1 pots and ornamentation was plain in both graves. They also contained pots of type B and type A respectively. These graves must be interpreted as having special status, though they cannot be compared with the high status graves at Tigşor that contained both gold and silver.

The bulk of graves lie close towards the 0.0 point suggesting that they were the normal male graves. Normal graves contained combinations such as pots, wheel-thrown ceramics, belts, combs, all types of pots, all decorations appear Also the majority had the pots placed at the foot end. I suggest that this group may be mainly the males. It contains both adults and children. These are graves 12,13,14, 24, 10, 19, 11,8,31,16.

The female group appears in the left side of the scattergram. Here we have spindles, silver, carnelian beads, cordoned beads, and containers placed in the top of the grave, as well as silver and gold. These are rich graves and are graves 21 and 17. In these two graves there were between 2-5 pots. These graves deviate a little in combinations from another group of female graves where combinations of glass beads and brooches occur. These are 28, 30 and 32 and 9. These must be considered to be female relatively less rich graves. This group contained a relatively high number of pots, more than six in two incidences, suggesting that the number of pots may not be an indicator of wealth alone. In the female group there appeared both children and adults. There were no Bronze rings in any of the graves.

The excluded graves, which only contained one artefact or fewer, must be assumed to be those of a lower or different status. It was not possible to assess any significant chorological structure from the plan of the site (Mitrea et al. 1966:345). As there was only one cremation, it has not been analysed in further detail.

Spantov

Spantov is situated on the lower terrace of the Danube around 12 km east of the town of Oltenita. It was excavated in 1952, 1956 and between 1958 -1962, in 24 several small sections. It is not delimited. Here were 69 graves, consisting of 59 inhumations. Ten cremations (17 %) were also found. It was possible to sex only 29 % of the graves, 85 % of these being male 15 being female. The age could be assessed in 72% of the graves showing that the majority (68%) of those buried at the cemetery were adults. Children consisted of 32% of the persons buried.

The large majority of the skeletons of the cemetery were placed in the supine position. There were no traces of coffins in the graves. Most graves were oriented N-S. 79% of the pottery at Spantov was wheel-thrown pottery and 21% handmade. No runes were identified here. The majority of pot types were type B (45%) followed by types M1 (25%) and type A (21%). Type M2 only appeared in 2% of the cases. Amphorae appeared in 4% of the cases. The "Geto-Dacian" cups were only found in very small numbers (1%).

In the burial ritual the number of pots that occurred in most graves was as in the analysis of Izvorul, 2-3 pots (37%) followed by 4-5 pots, which occurred in 27 % of the graves. Six and more pots occurred exactly in 16 % of the graves. One pot in the grave appeared in 20 % of the graves. This category was found in 5 % of the graves at Izvorul. As in Izvorul, the ornamentation on pots was mainly plain (57%), followed by linear ornamentation (40%), which most often occurred in plastic form. Here there were also a few incidences of stamp (3%) and curvilinear ornamentation (3%).

The artefacts in the graves were poor. There was no gold in the graves, and silver only appears in four graves (graves 67, 65, 63 and 37), that is 6 %. In relative terms this is, in terms of percentage points, half of that in Izvorul. Here there were only 2 bronze rings. Clasps appeared in one incidence in grave 37. In Spantov there were more imports, though they only appeared in 12 % of the graves. Also here there were very few glass cups, and there were neither weapons nor amber beads. The other find material consisted of glass beads, belt buckles, brooches, combs and spindle-whorls. Few shells, but no animal bones were found. Most of the containers were in the head end of the grave. The average NAT value of the graves is 1.63.

CA analysis of the inhumations of Spantov

In the CA analysis the 10 cremation graves are eliminated. Also here, graves with only one or fewer finds must be excluded. Thus graves 69, 43, 9 are excluded. This leaves 46 graves for the CA analysis. A number of variables do not seem significant in an analysis. Thus, the types of pots, the place of the pots in the grave as well as the place of jewellery appeared in most types of graves. This is why they did not give a clear picture. Thus, they were excluded. Excluding awls that bias the picture and the sex of various graves leaves only 20 graves for the analysis. Thus, it is questionable whether this analysis shows any clear-cut picture when more than 50 % of the graves have to be excluded from the final analysis. What fig 6.20 shows is a tendency for the most well equipped graves to divide into a group where import is present and another group where it is not. In the lower right side we have the presence of glass cups and glass beads that traditionally are associated with women. Belts and knives are placed in the lower left side. Combs, brooches and spindles are placed towards the far

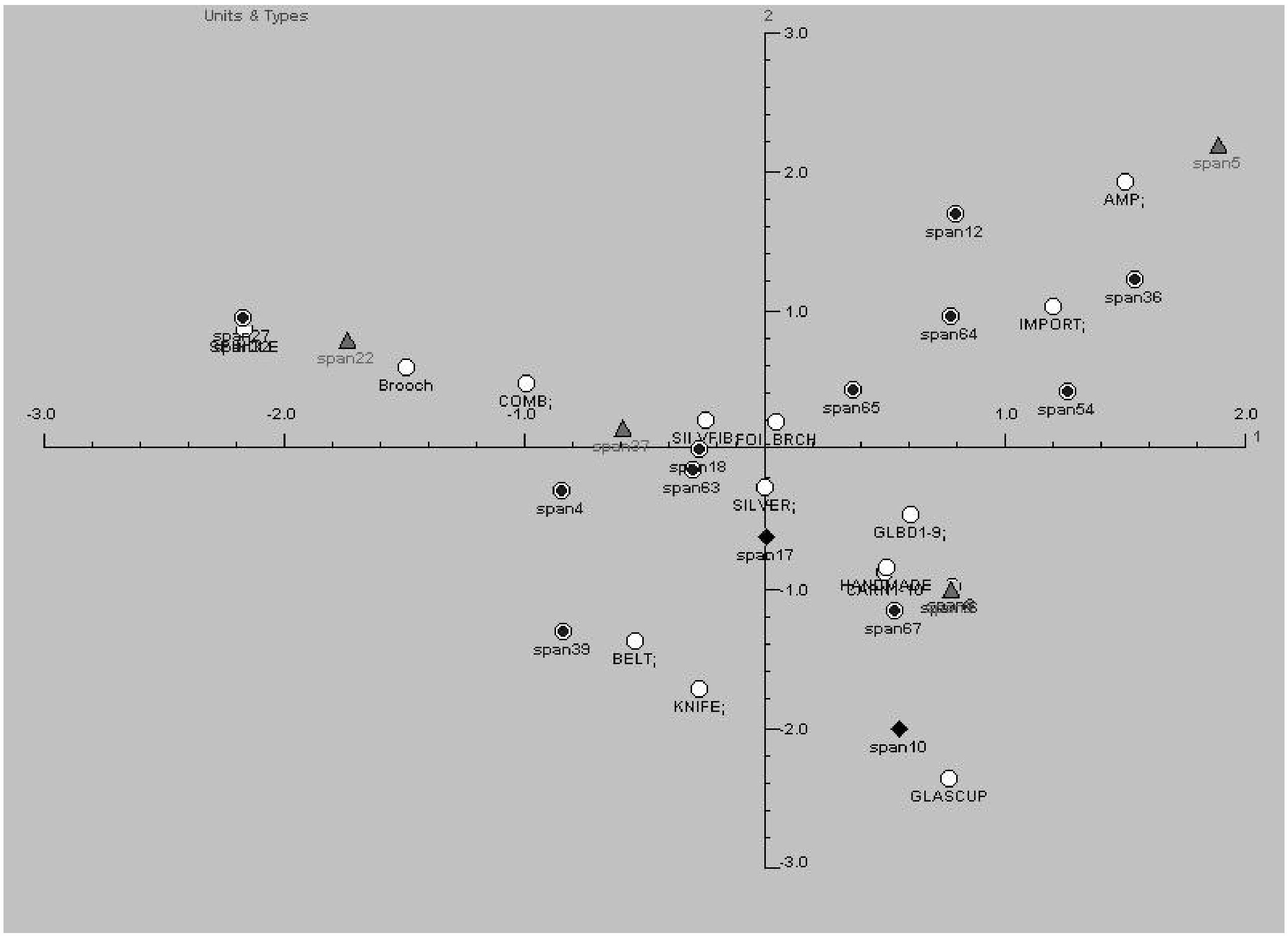

Fig 6.20. (spa2002c). Inhumations at Spantov. Triangles are sexed male graves; filled chevrons are sexed female graves. Open circles are variables. Key: Belt = Belt. Knife = knife. Glascup = glass Cup. Handmade = hand made pots. GLBD1-9; = glass beads 1-9. Silver = silver. Carn1-10. Carnelian beads. Silvfib; = silver brooch. Foilbrch; = foil brooch. Brooch = brooch any type, not silver. Spindle = Spindle Whorl. Import = imported item. Comb = comb. AMP = Amphora.

left. Thus, we do not have a picture as we have at Tigşor and Izvorul and the analysis cannot be seen as successful, though there is a tendency for a division of the graves into a rich group and a poorer group. The reason for this picture must be because more than 50 % of the graves are excluded in the final analysis.

Thus, what we can see from more conventional observations in the graves is that in both Spantov and Izvorul, we have a tendency for male graves to possess fewer pots than female graves. Also the female graves are more "rich" than the male graves in that they contain more precious metal. The presence of handmade pots in some graves could point to those graves being early. This would also explain the deviance of glass cups in the analyses of Izvorul. It has not been possible to assess a significant chorological pattern in the cemetery.

Cremations at Spantov

The cremations at Spantov consisted of 10 graves. Sex and age could not be assessed here. Both handmade and wheel-thrown pots were present. There were neither amphorae nor any Geto-Dacian pottery or M2 type pots. There were never more than 5 pots in one grave, with a predominance of 1-3 pots. Only linear and plain pottery was present. There were no knives. Comb, shell, keys and carnelian beads were only present in one case. There was no gold and silver, nor any belt buckles. Grave 61 fell out because it only had one variable when pots were excluded. A CA analysis of the remaining cremation graves produced a clear division of three groups (fig 6.21). The first group consisted of wheel-thrown ceramics (WHEL_TH), linear ornamentation (LIORN) and pots of type A (jugs). This group consisted of graves 34, 35 and 59. The second group had only 1 pot, plain pottery (PL), and a majority of hand made pots (HANDMADE) as well as pots of type B. This group, especially graves 14 and 15 could either be understood as an early or a late group, indicated by the handmade pottery. This group consisted of graves 57, 14, and 15. The third group has pendants and pots of type M1. The number of pots in each grave and the presence of pendants could also point to a hierarchy where the group with most pots is the most prestigious. In comparison with the other sites I suggest the latter, though it cannot be excluded that both chronology and social division could be present at the same time.

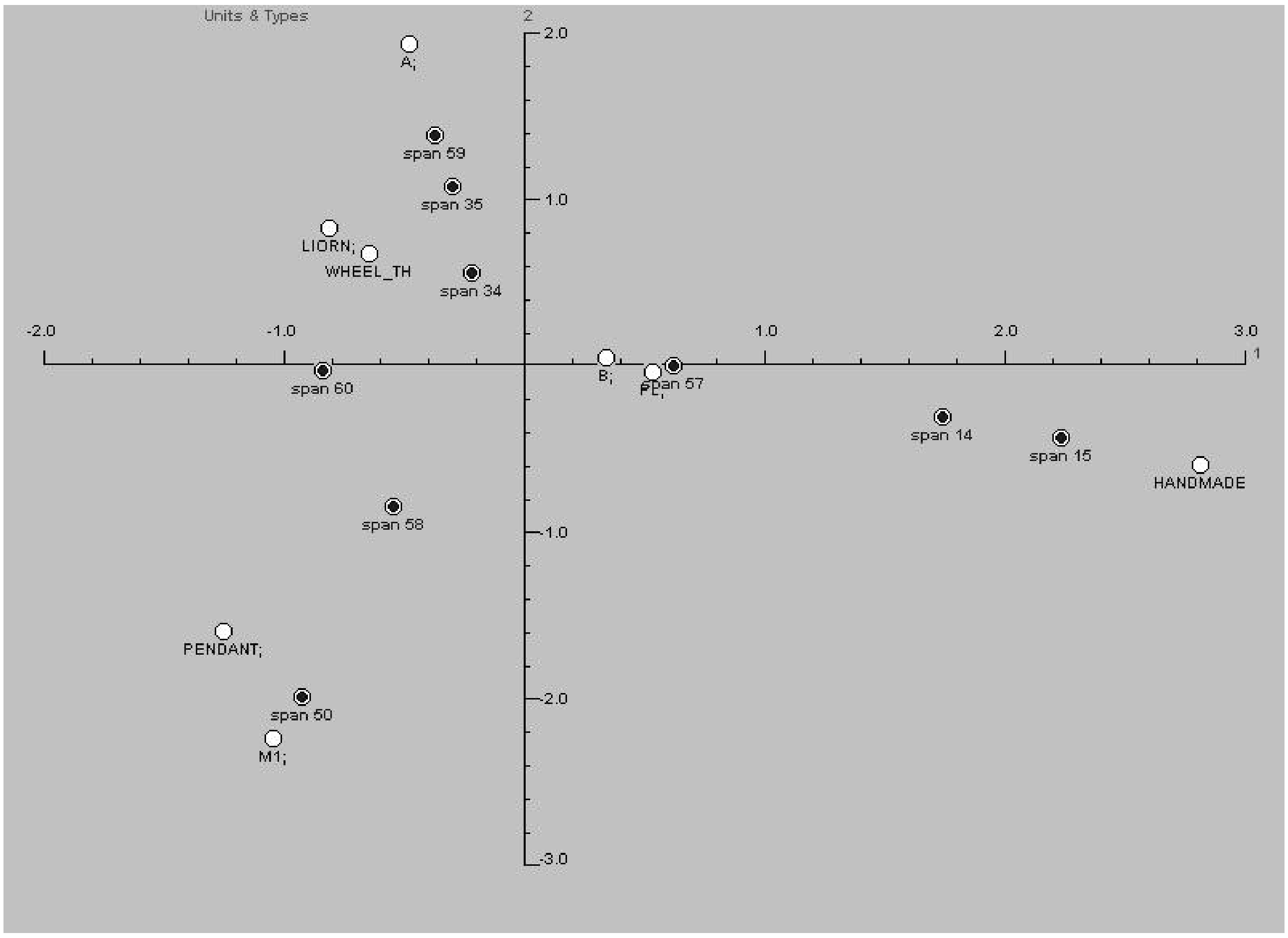

Fig 6.21. (Spc2002). Spantov cremations. The open circles are variables. The semi-filled circles are graves. Key: Pendant = pendants. M1 = type M1 pots. Wheel_th = wheel-thrown pots. Liorn; = Linear ornamentation. A = pots of type A. B; = Pots of type B. Pl; = pots with plain ornamentaion. Handmade = hand-made pots.

Independenta

Independenta is situated at the village of Calerasi at the lake of "Coadele". It was found in 1958, 1959 and between 1960 and 1961 it was excavated in 16 small trenches, which indicates from the plan that it was not totally excavated (Mitrea et al. 1966:153). Here were 35 graves consisting of 27 inhumations and 8 cremations, which are 29 % cremations out of the total burials. It was not possible positively to sex the females only the males, who comprised 46 % of the total. Some of the others must have been females, a pattern that deviates from that of Spantov. The age could be assessed for 66 % of the graves and showed that 74% buried at the cemetery were adults. Children comprised 26 % of the burials. This pattern is much like that on Spantov. Like Spantov and Izvorul, the large majority of the skeletons of the cemetery were placed in the supine position. Here there were no traces of coffins either. Most graves were oriented N-S. As on Spantov, 70% of the pottery at Independenta was wheel-thrown. There was one find where runes could be identified. Unlike Spantov, the majority of pot types were not type B but type M1 (37%), followed by types B (34%), and then type A (18%). Type M2 only appeared in 3% of the cases. Amphorae appeared in 8% of the cases. The "Geto-Dacian" cups were not found.

In the burial ritual, the number of pots that occurred in most graves was unlike in the analysis of Izvorul, 1 pot (37%) followed by 2-3 pots, 4-5 pots, and 6 or more pots. They all occurred in exactly the same percentage of 21% of the graves. As in Izvorul and Spantov, the ornamentation on pots was mainly plain followed by linear ornamentation that occurs in plastic form. Here there were no incidences of stamp and curvilinear ornamentation.

The artefacts in the graves were poor. There was no gold and silver in the graves. There was only 1 bronze ring. Clasps were not present. In Independenta, imports only appeared in 8 % of the graves. Also here there were very few glass cups and there were neither weapons nor amber beads. The other find material consisted of glass beads, belt buckles, brooches, combs and spindle-whorls and iron knives. There were a few shells and some animal bones. Most of the containers were in the head end of the grave. As in Spantov the average NAT value of the graves is 1.6.

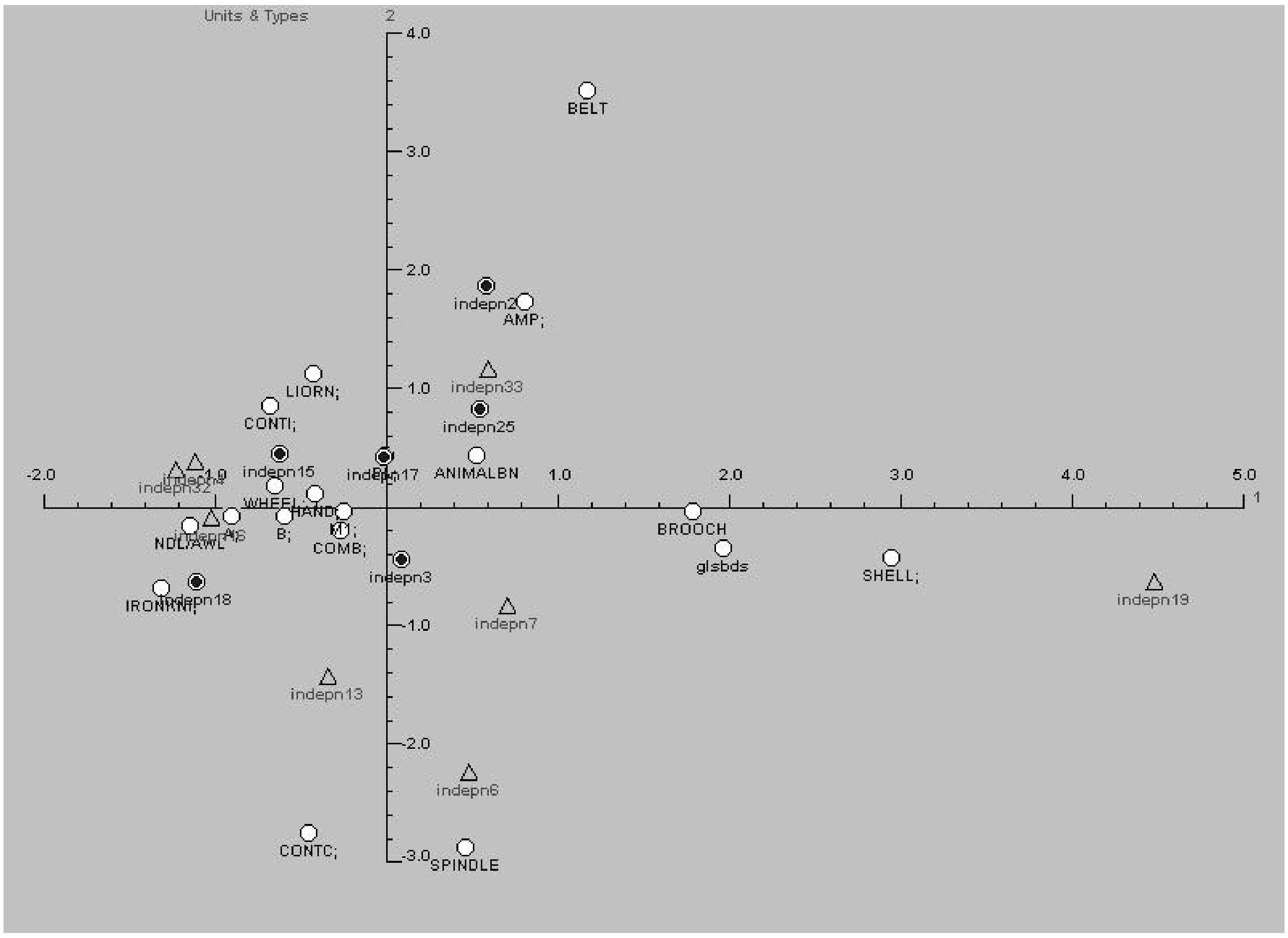

Fig 6.22. Inhumations at Indepdendenta (inmale3.orw). Triangles are sexed male graves. Semi-filled circles are unsexed graves, Open circles are variables. Key: Pendant = pendants. M1 = type M1 pots. Wheel = wheel-thrown pots. Liorn; = Linear ornamentation. A = pots of type A. B; = Pots of type B. Pl; = pots with plain ornamentation. Hand = hand-made pots. Spindles = spindle-whorls. Animalbn = animal bone. Ndl/Awl = neddle or awls. ContI = container in the foot end. ContC = container placed in the middle of the grave. Ironkni = Iron knife. AMP = Amfora. Belt = belts.

CA analysis of the inhumations of Independenta

In the CA analysis the 8 cremation graves are eliminated as well as graves with only one or fewer finds. Since there is only one female skeleton it cannot be included in the analysis though the male category can. Also the runes in grave 16 have to be excluded. As we have excluded a number of variables on that account, graves 1 and 35 cannot be included. Two variables are the minimum, which is why we end up having only 14 graves in the analysis of inhumations, which is about 50 % of the total. One must thus take the results with some reservations. In the first analysis we see the majority of graves lying towards the left. These graves may be seen as the majority of graves at the site. It cannot be a gendered group as male graves are placed in both sides of the scattergram. Towards the right above the x-axis we have a group of graves that contain animal bones imported amphorae, and belts. Below the x-axis to the right a group containing brooches, glass beads, shells, and spindles could be a female group, though the sexed skeletons of grave 6, 7 and 19 contradict this. One may consider whether the sexing of the skeletons has been made correctly or that this analysis is a success. With about 50 % of the graves sorted out the data need a re-evaluation before any definite conclusions can be made (6.22). Children's graves were graves 17, 18, 22, 25, 3. These graves are placed towards the left in the scattergram. Thus, the group with brooches, glass beads and shells, that is graves 19, 7, and 6, is an adult group on the site. This is confirmed from the skeletal evidence. The excavation plan of the cemetery was not complete enough to assess any chorological patterns.

Cremations at Independenta

The cremations at Independenta consisted of 8 graves. Sex and age could not be assessed. Both handmade and wheel-thrown pots were present with dominance on wheel-thrown pots. There were neither amphorae nor any Geto-Dacian pottery. Neither were there M2 type or A-type pots. There were never more than 3 pots in one grave with a domination of 1 pot. Only linear and plain pottery was present. There were no knives here. There was no gold and silver, nor any belt buckles. A CA analysis of the cremation graves could not be made, but from the few graves it was easy to distinguish two groups. In the first group, consisting of graves 5, 9 and 10 there was only 1 pot. There was also linear ornamentation and all pots were wheel-thrown. The second group

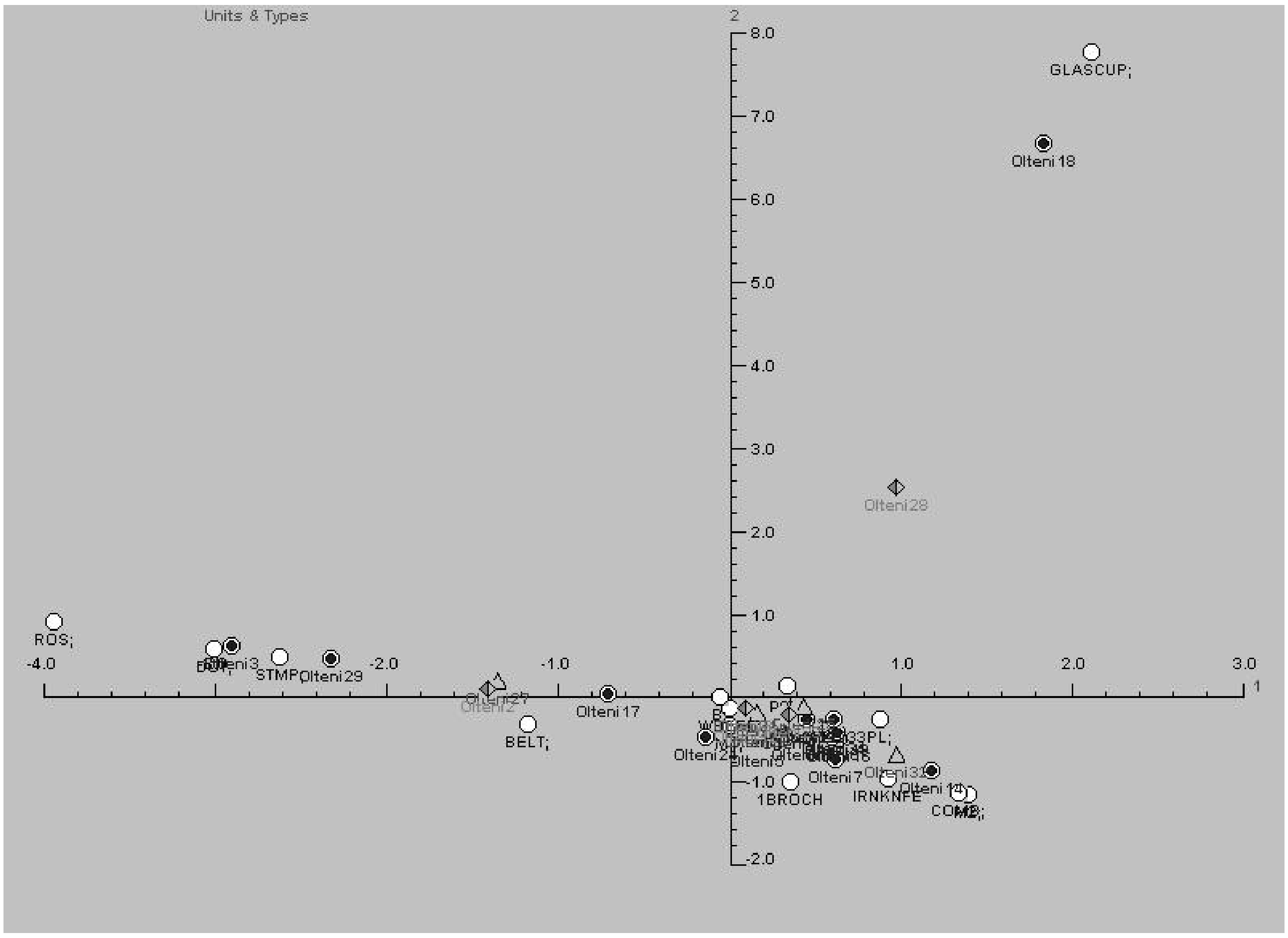

Fig 6.23. (ol2002) Cremations at Olteni. Open circles are variables. Semi-filled circles are graves. Key: Ros = rosette ornamentation. Dot = dotted ornamentation. Stmp = stamps. Belt = Belts. B= type B. Wheel = wheel –thrown ceramics. M = pots of type M. Pots = Pots of any type. 1brooch = brooch. Pl = plain ornamentation. Irnknfe = iron knife. Comb = comb. M2 = pots of tupe M2. Glascup = glass cup.

consisted of graves 21 and 34. It was here that the handmade pottery was present. In all, I suggest that the sample is too small to make any sense of it.

Olteni

Olteni is situated 70 km west of Bucharest. It was found in 1958. Here were 39 graves consisting of 5 inhumations and 34 cremations. This is 87 % cremations of the total. It was not possible positively to sex the females from skeletal evidence, only the males. They consisted of 18 % of the total; some of the unsexed graves must have been females. This pattern deviates from all the other sites analysed here, possibly because it is mainly a cremation site. The age could be assessed on 79 % of the graves, and showed that the large majority buried at the cemetery were adults, children consisting of only 16 % of the burials. This pattern differs from that on the other sites such as Spantov, because there are fewer children. The few inhumations were all placed in the supine position and were, as elsewhere, oriented N-S. As on Spantov and Independenta the majority of the pottery at Olteni was wheel-thrown. There were no runes. Like Spantov the majority of pot types were type B (46%), followed by M1 (44%). Only 4% were type A, whereas 6 % were type M2. There were neither amphorae nor "Geto-Dacian" cups. In the burial ritual, the number of pots that occurred in most graves was 2 pots (57%), followed by 1 pot (32%) and 4-5 pots (11%). There were no graves with 6 and more pots. There were no handmade pots at Olteni. As in Izvorul and Spantov and Indenpendenta, the ornamentation on pots was mainly plain (54%). Stamps also occurred here which has not occurred in any of the other cemeteries (14%). Linear ornamentation is the third type (11%). Dots are also present (11%). The significant difference between Olteni and the other sites may be because of the dominance of the cremation ritual.

The artefacts in the graves were poor. There was no gold in the graves, and only one incidence of silver. If silver is an import, import only appeared in one grave. There were neither bronze rings nor clasps. There were only two glass cups, and there were neither weapons nor amber beads. Also here, the other find material consisted of glass beads, belt buckles, brooches, combs and iron knives. There were no spindle-whorls. No shells were found and very little animal bone. The NAT value on Olteni is slightly less than at the other sites, in that it is 1.5.

CA analysis of the cremations of Olteni

In the CA analysis, the 5 inhumation graves are eliminated. Also here, graves with only one find must be excluded. Thus, the female skeleton cannot be included in the analysis though the male skeletons can. There is no information about placing of skeletons, orientation of graves, because they are cremation graves. The animal bones in grave 20 must also be excluded in the CA analysis, as well as the incidence of silver in grave 24. The same is the case with graves 18 which contained a carnelian bead, as well as grave 25 that contained less than 10 glass beads. Thus, graves 9 and 10 must be excluded because they only contain one variable. This leaves 32 graves for the CA. The cremations had so little material that it was difficult to assess the gender and age associated with the material before a CA is run. Excluding the very dominant vertical ornament and the linear ornament, we can see that a sort of parabola appears (fig 6.23). This parabola cannot be interpreted as a chronological development, because of the wide definitions of the variables, and must mean that we have a gradual development from one social class to another. This pattern is substantiated by the fact that belt buckles appear on the same side as that of the ornamented pots as well as the end, where there are between 4-5 pots. Glass cups and 1 pot lie in the poorer end of the scattergram with grave 18 and grave 28. The hierarchy of graves is thus as follows. Graves 3 and 29 are not the richest. But they contain ornamented pottery and are special in some way. Their place in the scattergram indicates that they are linked to the high prestige graves as these also contain ornamentation as well as more pots, together with belt buckles. These are graves 3, 29, 2, 27, 17. The next group is a more common group consisting of graves 24, 12, 8, 20, 21, 23, 1, 5, 31, 30, 26, 4. Here we have brooches, Iron knives etc. The excavation plan of the site could not be used for an assessment of the social stratification. The inhumations were all too small a sample to make any sense. In general they had more pots than the cremation graves. Also there were glass beads present.

Discussing the pattern of the Eastern European sites of the Sîntana de Mureş/Chernyakhovo culture

A similarity among all the Romanian graves is that graves that can be sexed include a larger proportion of men. Most often, men consist of more than 2/3 of the sample. In terms of age in all cemeteries, children are underrepresented, shown by the fact that they represented ca 30 % or less of the total. In some of the analyses, most children represented were a part of the hierarchy, seen by the fact that children also appear in high prestige graves. In all inhumation graves, the dead were placed in the supine position, and no evidence has been found of coffins. Where cremation was present, inhumation most often dominated the sample, except for the Olteni cemetery. In all cemeteries, handmade pots were the minority. At all sites the B type of pottery was dominant[10], followed by types M (open bowls) and type A (jugs). Most pots at all sites were not ornamented. Linear ornamentation often comes second. Apparently, ornamentation was not as important for showing status as was the number of pots as well as the use of belt buckles, combs, silver, gold and glass. Excepted from this is the cremation cemetery of Olteni, where ornamentation is more dominant than at the inhumation sites. At all sites, the dominant number of pots was 2-3, except for Independenta where 1 pot appeared in the majority of graves. Graves with 1 pot are second most frequent at Tigşor and Olteni. The presence of 6 pots is often the minority. What we seem to have from the analysis of all sites is a substantiation that the more pots in a grave, the more prestigious it is. This, I argue on the basis of the high coincidence of combinations of a large number of pots, the presence of silver and gold, as well as belt buckles and animal bones. This picture from fragmentary sites does not contradict the results reached in the analysis of the Tigşor site.

Conclusion

My analysis has tried to contribute the discussion by analysing formerly not considered material such as the Tigşor, Spantov, Independenta, Olteni and Izvorul cemeteries. I have done this by applying techniques, not formerly used, such as multivariate analysis, as a means of social analysis. The multivariate analysis assessed combinations of material culture in graves. These combinations suggest that some material culture was used conspicuously as symbols of status, power, gender and ethnicity. At the inhumation cemetery at Tigşor, I was able to divide the material culture into 7, or maybe 8, groups. At the cremation cemetery at Tigşor, I could divide it into 4 to 5 major groups. Chorologically, both cremations and inhumations suggested a pattern of an extended family, because females and males were placed close to each other within each group. There seems, however, to have been an internal division within the family, seen by the presence of a certain group of males within each family. These are interpreted as special males, as the warriors serving as retainers (*gardans*) of the rich family belonging to group B1 in Tigşor. The connection between belt buckles and prestige was partly substantiated in the analysis of the other cemeteries. The use of artefacts in the group at Tigşor implies the same insignia as can be associated with the god, who in later mythology became *Thor*, (Wolfram 1990:117). Thor was associated with war and martial power and may be the *Teiws* of the Goths[11]. Gold, on the other hand, may be connected to the elite god *Odin*, known as *Gaut* or *Faigunies* among the Goths. Thus, as suggested in Scandinavia, the rituals associated with the later Odin are associated with the highest stratum of society. This hypothesis is a mere tendency, and it cannot be sufficiently substantiated from these cemeteries alone. It must be seen with other and better-investigated cemeteries in the region and in other cemeteries among the Germanic peoples in Europe.

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[10] The types C. D. E analysed in Tigsor have in the later analyses been lumped together in type B.

[11] Wolfram (1990:119) thinks that Teiws in philological terms is the later Tyr (Mars, Ares) of the Viking mythology, which may be true. But since the insignia more look like those of Thor, I suggest that the functions of the later Viking Gods must have been mixed up at this early stage. For a similar view see also Dumézil (1958; 1971).

It seems that the burial rituals of the cemeteries were following a social structure of an extended family -- a pattern that is also present in contemporary south Scandinavia. Here there are, however, variations on a theme, as within the community in Jutland we also have large cemeteries interpreted as belonging to the chief's farm, divided according to gender at least until phase D. Whether the lack of single graves at Tigşor is due to the incomplete delimitation of the cemetery cannot be said. As at Hjemsted, "outsiders" were probably interred outside the cemetery or not at all, the latter being implied about the Goths in the passion of St. Saba where his body is thrown into the river (Flemberg 1992:174). This hypothesis can only be substantiated by attempting larger scale excavations on this or another site.

An interesting similarity between Scandinavia and the south eastern cemeteries is the lack of weapons, which in both cases does not correspond with contemporary conflicts which are recorded in the literary sources in the latter region, and from weapon offerings in the former. There is no doubt that a drastic change that was not always peaceful, both in Denmark as well as in the Pontic region, happened in Germanic society between AD 200-450. But this contention needs to be substantiated by looking further at the cemeteries in the Pontic region, in the Scandinavian as well as the Anglo-Saxon region.

Though the material is not sufficient to make any substantial conclusions, I suggested that some persons were excluded from being buried. Examples could be graves 225, 277 and 278 and grave 2 which could not be associated with any of the family groups identified. There is, in my view, also a suggestion that children and socially inferior persons were suffering from that exclusion, as they are underrepresented on the site. These are the graves, which tend to be excluded in the CA analysis because they contain less than 2 variables. Whether this exclusion was due to birth control, or due to other social or ritualistic factors is difficult to say. From the amount and combinations of grave goods in the graves, the female burials were well represented and well furnished - so were the children. In general, the pattern revealed from all the cemeteries analysed here all support the analysis from Tigşor.

The cremations may be another social group in that the material culture of this group was quite different from that of the inhumation graves.

Chapter Seven

A survey of Anglo-Saxon scholarship

We synt gymcynnes Geata leode ond Higelaces heorðgeneatas
(Beowulf vv 260-261)[1]

Introduction

The following is a survey of Anglo-Saxon scholarship with an emphasis on the archaeology of Anglo-Saxon England. This survey attempts to put the following in-depth analysis of the Spong Hill cremation cemetery into context. Thus, the emphasis of this chapter will be on cemeteries.

Historiography

A survey of Anglo-Saxon scholarship is more difficult than previous surveys of different regions presented here, because the scholarship is less homogeneous. Also, the geographical area of research in this period (Hills 1993b:314) is more fragmented, than for instance, is the case in Scandinavia. Regionalised areas could point to less continuity than in Scandinavia. Recent scholarship, however, seems to point in several directions, which does not facilitate a coherent understanding. One resulting problem is that Anglo-Saxon scholarship has torn itself apart by the perpetual discussion of the origins of the Anglo-Saxons, which may have done more harm than good to the field. One of the results today is the inevitable fragmentation and subdivision of Anglo-Saxon studies into a historic, linguistic, and archaeological discipline. This division has not made it easier when two well-established and textually-oriented traditions clash with a less-established and non-textual discipline as archaeology. As the "little brother", archaeology has been patronised and abused by the other disciplines for trying to partake in the discussion on their terms. As is probably also the case within other disciplines, Anglo-Saxon archaeology has additionally been subdivided into various schools of thought: cultural historical, processual and post-processual, all of which have influenced and fragmented the field and its interpretations. This is one of the disadvantages as well as the advantages of British scholarship, depending on how one looks at it (Hills 1993a:14). It seems, however, that there is today a tendency towards a larger self-awareness in the discipline of Anglo-Saxon archaeology, and a consequent call for contextual analyses, be it defined at the regional (Lucy 1995), interregional (Brush 1994), or interdisciplinary level (Carver 1992; Hines 1997), in all circumstances on the conditions of the material culture. In other words, our data today do provide more than a fragmented picture of Anglo-Saxon England and they do provide an increasing, reliable and complementary opposition to the existing written and linguistic evidence. Unlike historians, archaeologists cannot at the moment write large syntheses, because they have realised the fragmented and regionalised evidence of their record, which requires in-depth work at the analytical level, and eventually an interdisciplinary approach at the interpretative level (Ravn 1997c).

Anglo-Saxon archaeology over several hundred years has been influenced by two views that were dominated by contemporary but fluctuating European or anti-European movements in Britain. The details of this development have been outlined convincingly by Lucy (1995:9ff). In short, she outlines, firstly, a Germanist view which since the sixteenth century has suggested that a massive Germanic immigration was present in the fifth and sixth century AD. In the nineteenth century, racial and anti-Celtic connotations were included into the narrative. The narrative goes like this:

Around AD 410/20 the Roman army pulled out of Britain for good. This official withdrawal had probably been going on for some time before the year 400 AD. Shortly after, or during that process, the Saxons, Angles and Jutes arrived in waves to encounter, dispossess, enslave, marry or kill the Romano-British (Åberg 1926; Carver 1994:1). The first Saxons arrived, as mentioned in the chronicles, as mercenaries called by the Romano-British to protect them from raiders (Böhme 1986).

Around the same time, the towns declined, and many of the Celtic-speaking Romano-British pulled back to present Wales, the South, West and North. The upper class returned from the urban life of the Roman Age to rural life. Some moved to Brittany in present France, while some British stayed on; the rich collaborated and intermarried with the new lords, the poor worked in the lower social level of society as slaves or unfree peasants.

By studying place name evidence such as names ending on -ingas, -inga, and -ham/tun, scholars suggested that people who spoke a Germanic language settled in East Anglia and to the west around the present Midlands and London and the south-east. The Britons were pushed towards the west. Following Bede, the Saxons settled in the south Thames valley and Essex. The Jutes settled in Kent and Isle of Wight. The Anglo-Saxons became the upper class of England between the 5th and 11th century. There are many examples of this view from continental Europe (e.g., Böhme 1986) and from Britain

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[1] We here are come from the country of the Geats and are king Hygelac's hearth-companions. (Alexander's translation 1973).

(Collingwood & Myres 1936:359; Myres 1969; Hamerow 1994), though most holding this view today are from the continent.

The other view can be epitomised by Higham (1992) and Hodges (1989). They suggest that there was very little immigration. The drastic change in material culture was due to internal social pressure on the Romano-British population from a small Germanic elite to conform to the Germanic material, cultural and linguistic norms. This view is preceded in the 1930s by Leeds (1936) who modified his previous Germanist view (Leeds 1913), as Nazi Germany became an increasing threat. In archaeology it seems that Lucy (1995) follows the anti-Germanist approach. Since no numbers are mentioned, it is difficult to know how much the latter diverges from the third view. Following Lucy's(1995:9ff) line of reasoning one argument against the anti-Germanist view could be that the Euro-sceptic wave of Anglo-Saxon scholarship is a reflection of the present Euro-scepticism among the British (scholars) today (Hills 1993a:14; 1993b:310). Also, it is probably not a coincidence that many of those who promote an anti-Germanist view on Anglo-Saxon scholarship often do not read enough German to understand the striking similarities between the two regions. Though I have no intention of proving or disproving either of the two views, I hope the comparative approach of this thesis may help to pave the road for a better understanding of the nature of similarities and dissimilarities in the two regions.

Most British archaeological scholars today, however, I believe follow a third and less polarised view. An increasing database of settlement evidence, environmental evidence, place-names as well as linguistic evidence argues that the problem is much more complex and fragmented (e.g., Hills 1979; 1993b, Hines 1992a; 1994; Scull 1995). Anglo-Saxon England should be understood at the local level because all sources of this period point to a drastic regionalisation of Anglo-Saxon England (Hills 1993b:309). A natural consequence of this is to shy away from grand explanations. It is becoming apparent that the two paradigms proposed above could be true in one region and untrue in another (e.g., Hills 1993b:304) -- a view that is much more in accordance with the archaeological evidence. That ethnic groups today are seen as changeable social constructs and not racial "boxes" also weakens the previous polarisation (Renfrew 1987; Hines 1994). Many today argue that it is not unlikely that a number of Romano-British may have shifted their ethnic identity. A number of "clean" Anglo-Saxon graves could have contained native people, as is indeed implied in different ways by Härke (1992a), Hills (1993b:309) and Gelling (1988; 1993).

In other words, the discussion is changing towards a more fruitful line of research, namely towards the difficult but interesting question of continuity and discontinuity, and how to understand it from the archaeological record. In this way, Anglo-Saxon archaeology has developed in a similar direction as outlined in Scandinavia: towards looking at things in a longer perspective. This has lead a number of scholars to break down the arbitrary wall between Roman archaeological scholarship and Anglo-Saxon archaeological scholarship in order to understand the nature of change and continuity of what came before and after. This approach probably also explains why a renewed focus on the chronology has been initiated (Hines et al. 1999), as I shall return to below. For one cannot understand the nature of detailed change if there is not a sufficiently precise understanding of the chronology.

There are a number of projects that have shown that the *settlement evidence* today leads towards an understanding of continuity from the late Roman period to the early Saxon period (Taylor 1982; Williamson 1988). Also the *environmental evidence* points towards continuity in some regions (Murphy 1994; Dark 1996)[2], whilst in other regions it points towards continuity in livestock (Bourdillon 1988). As is implied also by Lucy (1995: 40) the local in-depth analysis of a cemetery, its landscape, and its region, may be more promising.

This short historiography can be summed up as follows: today the question is not whether there was a substantial impact of Germanic culture and language. The real question is how many incoming Angles, Saxons and Jutes, who here will be mentioned under the all-embracing term of Anglo-Saxons, were able to make such a drastic material and linguistic influence on a rather well-organised and well-populated Romano-British society consisting maybe of around 3-4 million people (Higham 1992), and how did they do it? Was it plague as finds of rats leads Rackham to suggest (1995:42) ? I will not attempt to answer this question here. Instead I will outline the sources that are available to the Anglo-Saxon scholar.

The sources for the Anglo-Saxons

Unlike Scandinavian archaeology, there are a number of written sources that have always made "prehistorians" studying the same period in Scandinavia wonder why those sources were not included in the discussion. The theoretical and disciplinary "trench-wars" detailed above have lead to a rejection of this data. This is partly due to the self-destructing source-criticism among historians and the New Archaeology among the archaeologists (e.g., Arnold 1982). In Anglo-Saxon scholarship there are two kinds of written sources available.

The first are the *insular* written sources, which mainly mean the texts written by Gildas and Bede. Gildas' "*De Excidio Britanniae*" has traditionally been dated around 540 but Higham (1994:141) puts Gildas in a Roman tradition and dates him as early as c. 479-484. Gildas was a Briton, maybe a monk, who probably wrote his text somewhere in the remaining Celtic area of Durotriges in present Dorset (Higham 1994:112). His text is polemical and full of metaphors about the "Pagan Saxons". It is very condensed and obscure, which has made it highly controversial. From this text Higham dates the Saxon invasion as early as AD 425-441 (1994:137)[3].

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[2] See however the dendro- bar diagrams (Tyers et al. 1994:20).

Bede was born in the seventh century and died ca 735 AD. His most known work is the *Historia Ecclesiastica* that he wrote around AD 731. He was an Anglo-Saxon Christian monk who probably lived in Northumbria in the monastery of Jarrow all his life (Higham 1995). Bede dates the Anglo-Saxon invasion to AD 449. It is here that he mentions in a short, but famous, passage that the Anglo-Saxons consisted of three tribes: the Angles, the Saxons and the Jutes (Bede H.E. I:15)[4]. There are a number of other insular sources that mention the coming of the Anglo-Saxons but they are all later. Some of these are the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, of which our earliest version dates to the 9th century.

The non-insular sources are much earlier, but often mention Britain only in passing. Ammianus Marcelinus in the 4th century mentions that around 367 AD the Britons were building watchtowers at the Yorkshire coast of England to protect themselves from incoming barbarians. It is Zosimus who, in the late 5th century, writes that the emperor Honorius in AD 410 asks the Britons to look after themselves. Constantinus' life of sermons was written in Lyon around AD 480. He visited Britain in 429 and mentions a combined army of Picts and Saxons. Also a Gallic chronicle (c. 450) mentions the coming of the Saxons around AD 411 (Keynes pers. comm. & Böhme 1986:560). All those sources point to the fact that the Saxons were a growing problem already in the late 4th century, and that a number of incoming people must have arrived.

Place-name evidence

Place-name evidence also points to the arrival of a number of Germanic speaking people. Cox (1973) and Gelling (1978;1988;1992) have attempted a relative dating of place names. The most important earlier Anglo-Saxon names are -stow, -eg, -ford, -burgh, -ham[5]. Some of the later ones are those ending on -ingas (c. 560), -tun (ca AD 750), -field (AD 500-600), -land, -æcer (c. AD 800-900) -leah. There are also a number of sacred place names pointing to the presence of a Germanic cult of Thor and Odin. Here names such as Thunderley, Thunsreslau, Wodneslawe, Wodenesfeld are examples (Gelling 1973; Wilson 1992:12; Hines 1997:385). Thus, the coincidence of Germanic place names as well as present English being a Germanic language, containing maybe only 50 words of Celtic (Gelling 1988)[6], suggests a substantial immigration of language and ethnicity at least in Eastern England. That a number of people must have come from the continent is suggested by the fact that it must have taken a certain number of immigrants to pass on knowledge of the language and ideology in a substantial way, as was also the case among the Goths discussed in Chapter five.

The archaeology of the Anglo-Saxons

The archaeological sources for the Anglo-Saxons consist of settlement material, a growing environmental and faunal material, as well as grave material. Because it was the most visible, grave material has for many years dominated the discussion of the Anglo-Saxons. Since it is very similar to that found on the continent in Germany, grave material has been seen as a proof of the extinction of the native people (Böhme 1986:525), especially because the Romano-British graves are almost invisible in the archaeology (Hills 1993b:306), both before and after the arrival of the Anglo-Saxons. The theoretical reason for thinking that the native inhabitants were extinguished has been the cultural-historical view of graves, which sees them as a reflection of society, and not an ideological message from the mourners, as discussed in Chapter two. A new theoretical approach, together with the settlement evidence, has changed that attitude, as I shall discuss below. Before I go deeper into the discussion of the archaeological material, a few words on the chronology are appropriate.

The problem with a coherent Anglo-Saxon chronology

A problem with Anglo-Saxon archaeology has been the lack of a coherent chronology. This is especially a problem because historians wanted a consistent chronology from the archaeology, so they could link kings and events to the archaeological data. Linking historical persons is almost always problematic, and also not a valid goal in archaeology. The lack of a coherent chronology cannot, as some may claim, only be due to the lack of interest among British scholars, though this is also a partial factor (Härke 1992a:21). Many British and continental scholars have tried to make a chronology based on jewellery (Leeds 1936, 1949; Vierck 1977; Hines 1984; Böhme 1986), weapons (Härke 1992a) and pottery (Myres 1969; Hills 1976). But two factors have made it more difficult to reach a coherent chronology in England than on the continent. The first factor is the scarcity of goods associations, which follows from the relatively small inhumation cemeteries and the relatively poor cremation cemeteries. Both make it difficult to link a relative chronology of one artefact to combinations that may allow an absolute chronology. The second factor is the previously mentioned regional variation, and the complicated structure of concomitant material culture groups. As pointed out by Nielsen (1997b:71ff), this problem of regionality has led to a number of controversial chronologies by Stilborg (1992) and Palm and Pind (1992), which were criticised by Hines (1992b). Because of the obvious errors in the interpretation, many scholars suggested that chronological seriation analysis by computers, as well as more precise chronological studies, was an unattainable goal (e.g., Lucy 1995:124). I disagree since this is to throw the baby out with the bath water. Data reveals that the real obstacle was that England, unlike Scandinavia, was a more regionalised area. Therefore, the seriation identified by Stilborg and Palm and Pind was really one of regionality and not chronology, as was also the case in the early analyses of Barrington (Hines & Nielsen pers comm.). In other words, they included artefacts from Kent to York thus blurring the picture, as also discussed in Chapter two. Continuous work, including analysis of recent sites such as Barrington, has as its goal the production of a more exact chronology of the English area, where also regional variation is taken into account. To exclude, for instance, the cemetery Morning Thorpe, which contained artefact types which are present in all regions made the matrix of Palm and Pind more reliable (Nielsen 1997b:83ff). In other words, it was not the method that failed, as was believed by many (Lucy 1995: 44), but the way it was used and the way the results were interpreted, because Palm and Pind as well as Stilborg probably overlooked the regionality of the material in England. The first step before a chronology could be made was to understand the regional variation so one could make chronologies for each region. A regional CA analysis was attempted on the jewellery with success by Nielsen (1997b:84), as had already been done on a manual basis (Myres 1969; Brush 1994). Nielsen showed that a CA analysis of the different regions confirmed the presence of three major regions within which the material could be analysed separately (fig 7.1). More importantly, she identified the borders between the various regional groups. The analyses of Edix Hill and Barrington, which originally provided the basis for a project, were, however, shown to lie just in the border zone between a traditional “Anglian” and “Saxon” area, because the borderline according to the CA analysis lies just south of Cambridge. The final results of the Barrington project remain to be seen[7]. Still scholars are confronted with the problem of the scarcity of material combinations and the complicated social system, which is also expressed in the material culture of the English area. A way forward, which has been initiated in a preliminary study, is to seriate the large cremation cemeteries where pottery form and decoration may hold the key to an understanding of the relative chronology of the area, as has also been done on a preliminary basis by Nielsen (see Chapter eight). Still, the other problem of relating the relative seriation to an absolute chronology on the continent is problematic.

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[3] For another view see Dumville 1984.

[4] There is in fact another list (see Pohl 1997).

[5] *Stow* is however seen as a late Old English place-name according to Cox (1973).

[6] Though Cox 1973 argued that there were more Celtic words in early Anglo-Saxon texts.

The story of a coherent and fine Anglo-Saxon chronology thus follows the story of a coherent Anglo-Saxon archaeology -- there is none. The regionalised nature of the archaeological data makes it impossible. As was suggested in case of Anglo-Saxon archaeology, the way forward is to study each region on its own. This background is necessary in order to understand why only relatively broad chronologies are outlined.

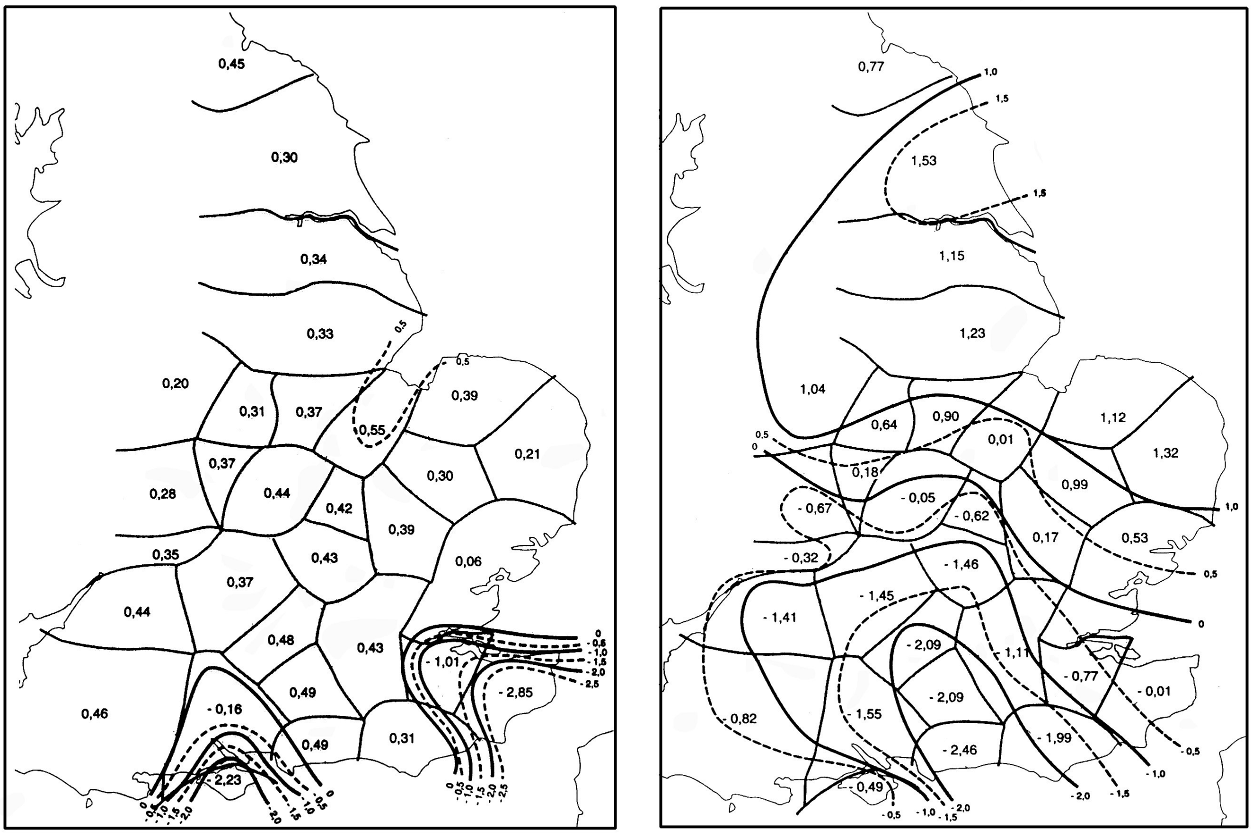

Fig. 7.1. Example of placing Correspondence values of a scattergram on a trend surface map. (a) Based on the first axis (b) based on the second axis (From Nielsen 1997b:fig 22 & 23). (Drawing J. Kirkeby).

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[7] A publication is imminent but was not available by this deadline (see however Hines et al. 1999).

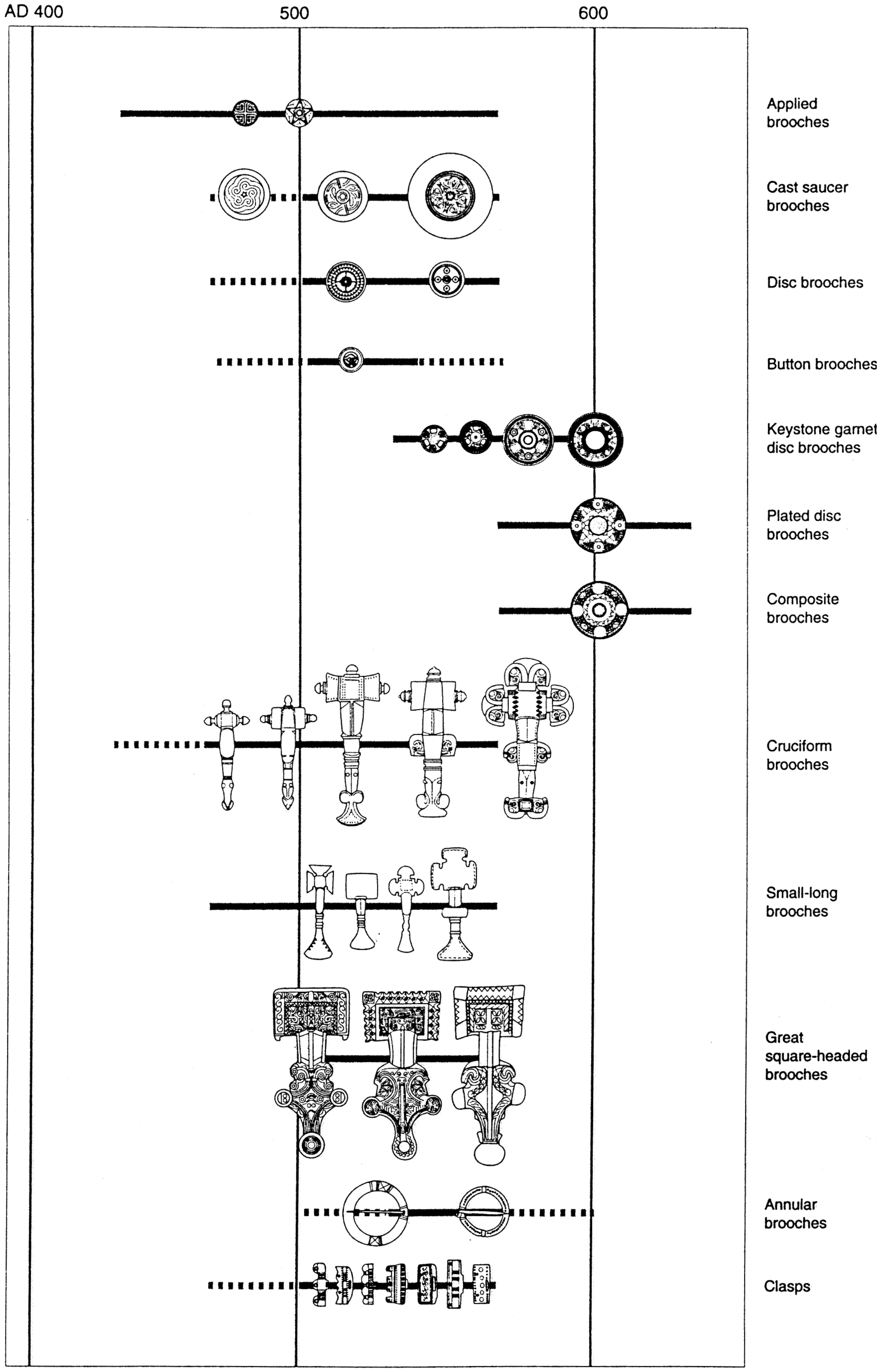

Fig 7.2. Chronological scheme of Anglo-Saxon female jewellery (From Nielsen 1997B: fig 28). (Drawing J. Kirkeby).

Anglo-Saxon chronologies

The problems discussed above have led a number of scholars to leave the contemplation of chronology altogether (e.g., Richards 1987:161) and stick to the traditional chronology which divides the Saxon period into an early (Pagan) period, starting in the 5th century (ca 400-650), a middle (early Christian) Saxon period (ca 650-850) and a late Saxon period (850-1066). Others (e.g., Lucy 1995:125) use the chronology presented by Vierck (1977). This chronology divides the Anglo-Saxon period into four phases.

- Phase I runs from the early 5th century to ca. AD 480.
- Phase II runs from ca. 480 AD to 550.
- Phase III from AD 550-to ca 600.
- Phase IV covers the 7th century (see also Geake 1997).

Hines has suggested a subdivision of the early chronology, and divides it into an e-phase (early) and an f-phase (referring to Leeds final phase 1936:96-114). The problem with which Hines is concerned is to pin-point the divide between the e-phase and the f-phase, and to relate it to an absolute continental chronology. Preliminarily, he suggests that the transition between the e-phase and the f-phase is similar to the transition between AMII and AMIII (560/70). According to Brugmann (1999:51; Parfitt & Brugmann, 1997), this division corresponds with the beginning of her Kentish phase IV of the cemetery at Mill Hill. As far as female jewellery is concerned, a preliminary chronology has been presented as seen in fig 7.2. As seen above there is progress with the chronology of the inhumation graves of females, but less so with the males and the cremation graves. The next step is disregarding the costs, to initiate a number of high-precision C14 dates in order to assess the relative dates which otherwise cannot be synchronised with the continental chronology (e.g. Scull and Bayliss 1999). At Spong Hill in the next chapter I will use the preliminary relative chronology presented by Hills and Nielsen due to the problem of dating cremation graves.

Anglo-Saxon material culture

The most thoroughly-studied Anglo-Saxon material is the metalwork (e.g., Leeds 1949) and pottery (Myres 1969). Formerly, both were believed to express differences of ethnic background that followed Bede's division into Angles, Saxons and Jutes. Thus, the saucer brooch and certain types of pottery were associated with the "Saxons". Supporting this contention was the fact that the same material was also located in present Saxony. Among the Angles and Jutes the cruciform brooch was predominant. Style I seems also to be of Scandinavian pedigree, though it quickly developed into a style on its own (Hines 1994:52). This development is especially seen on the square-headed brooches, which also have their equivalents in Denmark. Additionally, in Kent, gold bracteates and certain types of pottery were present. Bracteates are also found in contemporary Denmark but, as seen in Chapter three, they do not appear in graves. This may point to an entirely different symbolic use, which really undermines the contention of a one-to-one relationship between Kent and Jutland. In more recent studies by Brush (1994), she has produced a distribution map which shows regional patterning in the combination of material culture of women, which can be interpreted as associated with the Angles, Saxons, and Jutes to the regions of East Anglia, the Thames valley and Kent. Brush associates this regional distribution with the presence of similar ethnic groups (1994:255). This does not, however, suggest that they all were of continental origin. The difference is that ethnicity is defined as a social construct of identity as discussed in Chapter five. Hines (1994) sees Anglo-Saxon England as an area of immigration and changing identity where the Germanic element took over as the centralisation of states succeeded. If this is true, it seems that in the 5th and 6th century, women used brooches and dress to mark their ethnic identity of *who* they were, pointing to a pattern of exogamous marriage patterns (Brush 1994:193), whereas men at the supra-regional level are more anonymous. She suggests men signalled *what* they were (1994:206). As shall be seen in the next chapter, this pattern changes when one analyses the micro-level of the individual cemetery, in that females here appear much more homogeneous and men more heterogeneous, at least at Spong Hill. I shall return to the meaning of this difference.

Grave material and burial patterns

Apart from the different material culture, another feature that speaks for discontinuity between Romano-British and Anglo-Saxon occupation is the general tendency among Anglo-Saxon cemeteries, as opposed to Romano-British cemeteries, to be placed on high ground, on terraces and on hilltops (Hills 1979:310), and away from the settlements (Lucy 1995:192ff)[8].

Anglo-Saxon graves consist of both inhumation and cremation graves, often in the same cemetery. From the Gazetteer of Anglo-Saxon burials (Meaney 1964) cremations seem to dominate in East Anglia, the east Midlands and south east Yorkshire, but rarely south of the Thames valley. Given the long time span over which graves have been excavated, this pattern cannot be due to source critical factors, but must rely on actual cultural preferences. Comparing the graph by Dickinson (1980:15) in England with that of Hedeager (1992:17) in Denmark, the rate of discovery of graves from ca 1700 to the 1970s reveals that they are similar, in that they both peak in the middle of the 19th century and again in the 1950s. Hedeager interprets the pattern from Denmark to mean that the grave material is representative, as discussed in chapter three. There is no reason not to interpret Dickinson's figure the same way[9]. Thus, it may be concluded that the pattern revealed from graves is representative, meaning that new finds will not change the picture significantly[10].

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[8] This is the case at least in the major parts of Yorkshire. Philpott (1991) does not discuss the spatial location of Roman cemeteries.

[9] K. Penn has, however, in a unpublished analysis showed a slight

Extensive excavation of both types of graves indicates that the deposition of the dead in many ways was similar in both cremation and inhumation graves, though there are often few or no weapons in the cremations. Often the dead were laid on their backs fully dressed, accompanied with grave goods such as vessels, glass and wood objects either at the foot end or head end. In cremation graves, some dead were buried in a hut structure or within a ditch similar to the structures found at the inhumation cemeteries (Down & Welch 1990). Some inhumation graves are chamber graves, others are with sockets or ledges or with external ditches and postholes. The orientation of graves varies between e-w to n-s (Welch 1992:74), and no pattern points to a single answer for that variation, except maybe that orientation did not matter much in the ritual.

In East Anglia, the majority of graves are cremations, exemplified by Spong Hill in North Elmham, Norfolk. This 5th and 6th century cemetery contained more than 2000 graves, to which I shall return in the next chapter. Other examples are Sancton in Yorkshire, Loveden Hill and Elsham in Lincolnshire, and Newark in Nottinghamshire. An interesting pattern among all the cremations is the extensive decoration on the pots (Richards 1987), which occurs more frequently than on pots buried with inhumations. This decoration, as well as the rest of the artefacts, can be traced back to Angeln and Lower Saxony in Northern Germany. The decoration on pots more resembles those of Westerwanna and Issendorf (Weber 1996:127) in Saxony, while the artefact combination more resembles those of Bordesholm and Süder Brarup in Angeln. This leads Hills (1993a:22) and Weber (1996:131) to suggest that many of the people at Spong Hill must have come from both regions, and that they continued a further independent development.

It is seen that the difference between inhumation and cremation cannot be explained in terms of ethnicity even though the Romano-British from the 2nd century AD mostly were inhumed (Esmonde-Cleary 1989:55ff; Philpott 1991:53ff). This suggests that there were different rituals and meaning to inhumations and cremations among the Anglo-Saxons. Given the regional distribution, this difference cannot be due to ethnicity and chronology alone, as many of the cremations are found together with inhumations, but in different proportions over the various regions. Possibly, the meaning could have changed over time in the different regions. In Yorkshire, Lucy (1995:192) identifies a tendency for cremation graves to appear in the western part of the area at places high up and away from fresh water, whereas inhumations appear in the eastern part. This idea of a spatial meaning behind the use of cremations is interesting, but needs to be explored in other areas where both inhumations and cremations appear together. Brush (1988:83) argues that cremation may contain very different ideas about the dead and the afterlife, which differ from those of inhumations in that it dissolves the body. The cremation ritual acts as a sex and gender-destroying ritual, whereas inhumation can be seen as gender preserving. One could add that cremation additionally could act as a ritual that destroys the social and ethnic person, though all these proposals will be rejected in the next chapter with the analysis of Spong Hill, where new methods reveal sex, gender, age, and status. In other words, the meaning behind cremation as well as inhumation could be very context-specific. In Yorkshire, Lucy interprets the meaning of the spatial distribution of cremation cemeteries as related to an idea of a liminal place. The spatial location of Spong Hill is on a hilltop between a number of regions, which could also here mean that it was a liminal place.

Geake (1992:93) has suggested that inhumations in later 6th century could be understood as a way for a rising elite to distinguish themselves from the rest of the community, a fact that could explain the advent of the Spong Hill inhumation cemetery in East Anglia to which I shall return in Chapter eight. This explanation corresponds with Lucy's (1995:192) observations in Yorkshire: that early cemeteries are more numerous. She interprets the presence of fewer late cemeteries as a way of distancing oneself from the bulk of the population. But this explanation does not explain the regional difference between cremation and inhumation among the *earlier graves*[11]. When a better chronology for the various regions has been achieved, it may be easier to assess in more detail when and why cremation was in use. I shall argue, however, that much of the speculation as to the meaning of cremation graves has been due to a lack of advanced statistical methods, which could approach the contextual meaning of the cemetery. Only Richards (1987) confronted this problem, to which I shall return in Chapter eight.

Inhumations and social and ethnic status

There have been attempts to correlate crouched burials and pennannular brooches with the indigenous Romano-British population (Faull 1977). As the inclusion of brooches also occur on the continent, the attempt has not been convincing (Hamerow 1994:167). They may reflect social difference (Brush 1994:237) or regional difference (Lucy 1995:230) as well.

Härke (1992a; 1992b; 1994b; 1997a) has demonstrated a high correlation between men identified from skeletal material and weapons. His sample showed an average height of 3-5 cm more for the skeletons buried with gold, silver, glass and weapons, than for persons without, though this correlation only appeared in the early graves.

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increase the 80´s and 90´s due to detector finds (Hills pers. comm.).

[10] Exceptions are the later very rich graves such as Sutton Hoo, which are not investigated in this book.

[11] Though the regional difference undoubtedly is real it should be mentioned that more cremations have been recognised in other regions, but often they are very shallow (Down and Welch 1990).

The average size of those men was 174.6 cm. The taller persons in weapon graves cannot be explained by the fact that they consist of a social and better-nourished group, because the taller group had a similar occurrence of stress and malnourishment than the group of smaller skeletons. Together with the appearance of the weapon burial ritual which has a continental background, he thus suggests that the difference in size is best explained to reflect an immigrant population, which expresses its ethnic identity and difference through the ritual (Härke 1994a:36). Additionally, the weapon graves did not correspond to the person's ability to fight, because also children and old persons were accompanied with weapons. The disappearance of weapon burials by the end of the 7th century where it is known that social differentiation increased makes Härke suggest that weapon burials represent the incoming Germanic warrior elite and their subsequent ideals of a Germanic warrior society and ideology. As ca 50% of men's graves contain weapons, this means that it cannot be explained as a purely social phenomenon. It also shows that the immigration in England among visible and buried persons was substantial[12], but that the native Britons still remained a large part of the population. Thus, according to Härke, weapons are an ethnic symbol, which in the beginning, at least, is based on a real genetic difference, later, on assumed ethnic and social difference.

Supporting this contention is the tendency among the skeletal evidence to share hereditary epigenetic features that arguably belong to family groups (1992a:207). One problem with this argument is that no similar pattern can be identified among the women (Stoodley pers. comm.). This is striking, because if women represented a different biological background from the Romano-British it should be expected that they also would be relatively taller as well. This could point to the fact that the skeletal material is not large enough to make such conclusions.

A solution to this problem could lie in the technology of DNA, which, however, is not yet developed beyond a stage where it can be relied upon beyond reasonable doubt. Härke has only analysed inhumations and male graves and has ignored cremations. Including those illustrates that the analysis is not that simple, because, as the surveys by Hills (1993a) in East Anglia show, and my analyses will show, cremations had a substantial Germanic ideological and symbolic language as well, but less weapons. Again we are confronted with the problem of a supra-regional study, which does not correspond with a certain region, suggesting that England is too regionalised for large syntheses.

Most scholars seem to agree that Anglo-Saxon burials developed from a heterogeneous and individualised burial pattern of the 5th and 6th centuries, into a more restricted and formalised pattern in the 7th and 8th centuries. It seems from the discussion of burials that there is no easy answer to the question of the proportion of incoming Anglo-Saxons, though the sum of material culture of the graves including the bi-ritual is implemented in other areas occupied by Germanic people.

It is a general trend for weapons and glass, gold and silver, playing pieces and horse equipment to appear with tall and mature or older males (Härke 1992a:219; Brush 1994:203; Lucy 1995:77). The internal hierarchy among weapon graves indicates that sword, seax and axe meant more than lance and shield (Härke 1992a:119ff), a pattern which is seen also among the inhumations at Spong Hill. It seems that spear, shield, seax and axe were found among grown-up men only, whereas swords and spear could be found also among children. Arrowheads are found exclusively among children[13]. The decisive age among male children seems from the presence of weapons to be around the age of 3, 12 and 20 (Härke 1992a:191). Children buried with weapons must have belonged to an elite. As discussed above, the female combinations of brooches, girdle-hangers and other *quantitative* evidence of material culture shows the importance of women as the markers of the wealth of the family, as well as the ethnic identity. Among men, the internal ranking must have been more important, as will be considered in Chapter eight.

Having identified both groups of graves, with and without weapons in the same cemeteries, Härke (1992a:217) suggests that both rich and poor lived in the same household. This pattern is confirmed looking at grave plans analysed by Lucy (1995:141,147) of Sewerby and Heslerton in Yorkshire. If Heslerton is analysed by the same formula as in Chapter four, there lived ca 36.8 persons in average at Heslerton over an estimated 200 years[14]. Dividing that number with an average family of 8-10 persons suggests that 4.6 families were buried at Heslerton. This corresponds with the five sections into which the Heslerton cemetery has been divided. Assuming that the time span at Sewerby was 200 years (Hirst 1985) makes it clear that only one family was buried here[15]. In Uncleby there lived and were buried ca two families on average[16]. Kelleythorpe was the cemetery of one family[17]. It seems that inhumation cemeteries reflect the pattern of a family. It is now necessary to proceed to see how this corresponds with the settlement evidence.

Houses and settlements

Apart from brooches that suggest new and different dress codes among women, another indication of the different perception of life between Romano-British and the Anglo-Saxons is the organisation of settlements and technology. During the Roman period, the rich lived in stone built villas or towns (Esmonde-Cleary 1989:64), although more evidence is also now appearing of rural settlements built of wood. There is also evidence of a return to less sophisticated technology such as handmade production of pottery (Esmonde-Cleary 1993:59). Scull's analysis of East Anglia suggests a continuity of general location along the rivers, but not a site continuity (Scull 1992:10ff). Placing his maps on top of each other, one sees a lesser density of Anglo-Saxon than of Romano-British finds. In fact, some areas become deserted of finds, as is the case along the river Nene. The general picture, however, points to the fact that people in East Anglia settled in the same area, but not in the same constructions, as is also evidenced at Spong Hill in East Anglia. East Anglia at least must have felt a massive influence in terms of Germanic people, place names and sites. The different visibility of Romano-British and Anglo-Saxon sites today, however, indicates a totally different behavioural pattern of deposition, which does not point to continuity in terms of use of site. In the Anglo-Saxon period the settlement pattern changed drastically, as most settlements became rural with houses built of timber; neither were there any towns, which declined already before the end of the Romano-British period. Unlike the continental long houses (e.g., Haarnagel 1979; Hvass 1988) the Anglo-Saxon houses, called "halls" (Hamerow 1994:169) are not three-aisled, nor do they have byres, as on the continent. The houses are constructed with roof-bearing walls, which is another difference between the continent and England. As on the continent, houses are mostly oriented w-e. There are few incidences of the presence of the Anglo-Saxon house on the continent, but some have been found, notably in Friesland (Hamerow 1994:171). Since the structures in England differ from the rest of the houses on the continent (Hamerow 1995), this may indicate a reinterpretation of ideology and economy among the settlers of England. A new environment could be one reason, but the similarity in landscape and climate between the Northern European continent and England is not substantial enough to explain this change as being simply due to a different economy. The absence of byres could, however, be due to a slightly milder climate in the British isles in the winter, which allowed the animals to graze all year.

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[12] At least in the south of England.

[13] At Lakenheath cemetery arrows were also found in adult graves.

[14] 40 x 184/200= 36.8 persons (see also Chapter four). All data are retrieved from Hirst (1985) and the dissertation and plans presented in Lucy 1995:139ff.

[15] 40 x 49/200=9.8 persons.

[16] 40 x 72/200= 14.6 persons

[17] 40 x 41/150. It is here assumed that the lifetime of the cemetery is 150 years, though 200 years would not make a difference.

The size of the halls varies from less than 3.5 meters long to more than 24 meters at Yeavering (Hope-Taylor 1977). There is a trend for a preferred length of 7, 10,14 and 20 metres (Marshall & Marshall 1991), but most of the structures are not longer than 14 m. The width never exceeds a maximum of 7 metres. The smaller houses are interpreted as less prestigious than the larger high-status buildings, such as those at Cowderys Down (Millett and James 1983), and Yeavering. The walls are plank-in-trench or post-in-trench constructions (Marshall and Marshall 1991; Welch 1992:19). James et al (1984) have shown that in dimensions and layout the hall of the Anglo-Saxons resembles the two-square module of the Romano-British houses more than the rectangular continental houses. Germanic features are the orientation and the construction of walls of wattle. It is, therefore, possible to conclude that the Anglo-Saxon house is most likely a hybrid of two building traditions. In other words, the use of material culture has been reinterpreted into a new tradition, as was also seen with the use of bracteates in the graves in Kent. Whether this can be interpreted to mean that the family was smaller cannot be assessed until one can be absolutely sure what houses at a site are contemporary. It is also difficult to assess how many people lived in the same house.

The other major type of house, which is identical in plan to continental ones, is the sunken-featured building, well known on the continent as the Grubenhaus. Occurring together with the hall (Hamerow 1993:8) the reason for the occurrence and function of this house is still disputed (Powlesland 1997:104). One hypothesis suggests that the sunken feature is a cellar below a raised floor of planks. This argument is based on the fact that there is found no evidence of floors. Also, most pits are filled up with secondary rubbish. Some, however, have claimed that the Grubenhäuser were used for example for weaving and storing. This interpretation is widely accepted on the continent, not only because evidence has been found of primary layers with loom-weights, but also because the Grubenhäuser are often placed spatially outside the enclosed farm unit, indicating that it was not for living purposes[18]. Under all circumstances, they could have been used secondarily as rubbish pits. It is intriguing that the majority of Grubenhäuser appear in the 5th century, contemporaneously with the influx of other Germanic customs from the continent. In Jutland (Hvass 1988:75) the Grubenhaus is older than in England in that it appears already in the 3rd century, suggesting that the Grubenhaus was an intrusive element in the insular building tradition. Whether this house has also been reinterpreted and used in another way in England is not possible to assess in a straightforward way from the structure which is identical to those in Scandinavia, though some research suggest that they were used for textile working also in England (Härke 1997a:136)[19].

West Stow in East Anglia, with its sequence of habitation from the 5th to the 7th century, is a good example of the organisation of a small-scale rural Anglo-Saxon settlement (West 1985). The three distinct phases suggest that there were never more than four farm complexes consisting of a hall and some Grubenhäuser. The same is the case in the analysis of Mucking. Additionally, Hamerow (1993:96) suggests that Mucking was a rural site, which from the 5th to the 7th century changed its location, as was the case with continental sites.

In some areas there appeared what has been called "estate centres" where noblemen and in some instances royal persons resided. Yeavering in Northumberland may be the place Bede calls "Ad Gefrin" (Hope Taylor 1977:276ff). Dating of the site is circumstantial; it circles around AD 600-650, when it was burned down. Scull (1991:60) argues, however, for an Anglian phase I which predates the larger buildings, but not as much as suggested by Hope-Taylor (1977), in that they belong in the middle or later half of the 6th century. There are many indications that Yeavering was an important estate in the later phases. Hope-Taylor interpreted the site as follows: Phase 1 with Hall A2 and the cattle enclosure was built by Æthelfrith (592-616), whereas Hall A4, A1 and the grandstand was built by Edwin (616-32) who overthrew Æthelfrith. Following this line of thought the Halls A1 (b) and A3 (a) belonged to Oswald (633-41) where also a church-like structure appears[20]. Scull (1991) has called some of the details of the relative phases into question, which has made it more difficult to relate the various phases directly to historical persons. Whoever is right the large halls may be interpreted as royal estates because the amount of work and wood put into the construction of such halls indicates that the person had substantial power and influence. At Yeavering the presence of a shrine, and later a church in the last phase, can be seen as an indication of a relation between political power and religion, as also suggested in the analysis of Beowulf in Chapter one. Larger representative samples of settlement material have suggested a connection between large halls and social significance (James et al. 1984; Marshall and Marshall 1991) but it is still a matter of debate whether one can set up a dividing line between low-status and high-status houses, based on length alone. Some have suggested the length of 18 meters as the threshold. Marshall and Marshall (1991) were able to confirm that the size of the houses increases over time. Having outlined the settlement structure in Anglo-Saxon archaeology, a scenario emerges of a society that imported as well as reinterpreted ideas and ways of using material culture. This could point to a substantial proportion of the native population was taking part in this discourse. A view on the economy may qualify this view further.

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[18] An example is Snorup in Western Jutland near Varde. The plans are not yet published Nørbach & Mikkelsen in press.

[19] Though an in-depth analysis of the formation processes may qualify this view (Tipper pers.comm.).

Economy

The agriculture of the Anglo-Saxons seems to have been similar to that of the Romano-British. In Britain, the Anglo-Saxons apparently took over the co-axial fields, though they were long abandoned in contemporary Scandinavia and Germany (Nielsen 1984). Higham (1992:152) uses this fact to claim a substantial continuity between the Romano-British population and the Anglo-Saxon period. The most important crop in Flögeln in Angeln was barley and oats, whereas at West Stow in East Anglia spelt, wheat and rye dominated. A more detailed analysis of East Anglia (Murphy 1994) has helped to refine this picture, showing that some sites moved from lighter to heavier soil. Additionally, he showed that the predominance of oats at Springfield Lyons, a late Saxon settlement, suggests an emphasis on animal husbandry. This picture is substantiated for the earlier period by pollen analyses (Murphy 1994) and written sources (Rackham 1994:10) suggesting that there was no regeneration of forest after the Roman period. Indeed, there are many indications that the Anglo-Saxon landscape was open for grazing.

Finds of bones at various sites substantiate the importance of animal husbandry. At West Stow, in the Early Anglo-Saxon period cattle represented 33,7 % of the total faunal remains analysed, sheep/goat 48,3 %, pigs 16,7% and horse 1,3 % (Crabtree 1989). At Bishopstone, the relative pattern is similar, whereas at Wicken Bonhunt, more recent analyses (Crabtree 1994) have shown that pigs were predominant. The general predominance of sheep is interesting, because cattle were predominant in Feddersen Wierde in Angeln. The emphasis on grazing sheep (Crabtree 1994:41-42) is a picture that is supported in the later Domesday Book and points to continuity with the previous Romano-British economy (Crabtree 1989:107). The reason for this pattern may be due to the milder climatic conditions in England or a greater demand for textiles, which became very important in the later medieval period.

Analyses of kill patterns inferred from dental eruption and wear on mandibles is interesting, because one is able to distinguish between different subsistence strategies at various sites. Crabtree's analysis (1994) of sites from East Anglia implies different interactions between sites. For instance, the kill pattern of West Stow shows that the site was a self-sufficient or local producer site. The kill pattern is interpreted in this way because all age classes of animals were slaughtered. The assumption behind such a pattern is that self-sufficient people slaughter animals of all ages when they are needed.

A different pattern is present at the Roman settlement of Icklingham, which Crabtree (1994) interprets on the basis of the age profile of the animals as a consumer site, because most sheep were killed in late adolescence or early adulthood, whereas there were no senile or perinatal animal bones. Obviously, the site here was subject to a Roman centralised system. A similar pattern is present at the Anglo-Saxon Wicken Bonhunt. Here, there is a predominance of pig bones. Additionally, there are many bones of mature sheep and cattle. It is thus reasonable to suggest that Wicken Bonhunt was supplied with market age animals from other producer sites. This pattern is similar to that of later Anglo-Saxon towns of the 7th an 8th century such as early Hamwic (Bourdillion 1988). In other words the kill pattern from Wicken Bonhunt supports the place-name evidence that it was a regional farm, possibly collecting royal food rent (Crabtree 1994:50).

Discussion

In the light of not only the analyses from Härke but also the changing topography of Anglo-Saxon cemeteries, the new types of houses where at least the Grubenhaus is tightly connected to the continent, the introduction of Style I elements, and a substantial amount of Germanic place names, I suggest that Germanic ideology must have been very strong among people in East Anglia. The linguistic element points to the fact that a substantial number, but not all of these who had these ideas originated on the continent. Though my task here is not to assess whether the Anglo-Saxons were from the continent, it is worth mentioning that others have argued for immigration on the basis of a similar connection between ethnicity, language and material culture (Renfrew 1987). Härke's thesis is interesting, but his disregard of the cremation data in his analyses is an omission in his argument. The lack of swords in cremation graves (Welch 1992:69) must according to Härke's hypothesis mean that they are indigenous[21]. But a closer look at them does not suggest that this was the case. Also on the continent, the cremation ritual was very widespread. So the widespread cremation burial could also support the general picture, that the influence and impact from continental settlers was substantial. I suggest that Germanic culture in its most neutral definition was very strong in the material culture as well as in the ideology. The latter is a hypothesis I will support in the next chapter.

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[20] All plans of Yeavering can be seen in Hope-Taylor 1977.

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[21] This is my, not Härke's, interpretation of his data.

Chapter Eight

Analysis of Anglo-Saxon graves with special reference to Spong Hill

Introduction

The main focus of this chapter is a social analysis of the graves from Spong Hill, both cremations and inhumations. This is because the material is from a large and well published site which is totally excavated. This site, therefore, offers an excellent opportunity for detailed analysis with advanced analytical tools. Results may be compared with broader analyses carried out on larger and more representative samples in England (Richards 1987; Brush 1994, Härke 1992a). Thus, this study should be seen as innovative as well as a continuation and evaluation of earlier analyses.

The Spong Hill site is situated in Norfolk, East Anglia in England, 2 km south of North Elmham, which was probably the site of an Episcopal see from the end of the 7th century (fig 8.1). It is placed on a ridge about 40 m. above sea level, north of the "BlackWater River", south-west of the river Wensum, to the west of the Roman road between Worthing and Beetley. Place names and present boundaries indicate that Spong Hill also then was situated between different regions, the present parishes today being Elmham and Beetley (Hills et al 1977:32). Traces of a number of contemporary villages in the vicinity have been identified mainly on the basis of surveys and the presence of cropmarks. Also prehistoric and Roman occupation was found in the area, preceding the cemetery site (Healy et al 1988; Rickett et al 1995). The discontinuity in the use of pottery fabrics (Rickett et al 1995:126) and the clearance in phase 6 (ibid:151) of the Roman occupation suggests that a drastic restructuring and abandonment of the site took place prior to Anglo-Saxon occupation. The Anglo-Saxons used the site for both cemetery and settlement (Rickett et al 1995: 154) respecting some of the earlier Roman ditches. How big the settlement area was and how dense the Anglo-Saxon occupation around the Spong Hill cemetery was cannot be assessed because intensive survey and excavation of the area could not be completed (ibid:158).

Between 1972 and 1984 a campaign was carried out by the Norfolk Research Committee and thereafter by Norfolk Archaeological Unit focusing mainly on the cemeteries. Results are presented in Hills 1977, Hills et al 1981, 1984, 1987, 1994, McKinley 1994, Rickett 1995 and Healy et al 1988. The entire cemetery, dating around the early Anglo-Saxon period of the 5th and 6th centuries, revealed 2485 cremations and 57 inhumations making it one of the largest and to that date best recorded Anglo-Saxon site of its type in Britain. The inhumations at the site seem relatively late though there are cases of cremations cutting inhumations and from spatial distribution in the north-east of the site even post-dating the inhumations (Hills et al 1984:41). Thus, cutting cremations, similar range of artefacts and identical pottery fabric groups point to at least some coexistence. Some suggestions as to the details of the rituals of the site are indicated by analysis of the artefacts. McKinley (1994:92) suggests that some material was put onto the pyre before, some after, but a clear pattern could not be assessed. Rather the fact that most grave goods were burned suggests that the actual cremation had greater importance in the ritual than the burial of the remains.

Spong Hill - the relative and absolute dates

The ca. 2500[2] cremation graves of the Anglo-Saxon cemetery are estimated to lie between ca 450 to ca 600 AD, plus minus a few decades, ca 6 generations[3]. Still, a problem with the site is the relatively few graves, which can be dated more precisely. Relative chronological analysis on the decorative stylistic elements of the pots has been attempted on the cremations (Nielsen pers comm.). In figs 8.2 & 8.3[4] it can be seen that the relative style develops from simple hanging arches, via plastic decoration towards elaborate stamp decoration. That the latter chronologically is late is supported by the concurrence of elaborate cruciform brooches. The poor datable grave goods have not made it possible to assess the dates in absolute chronology. The general impression of this analysis is that it does not contradict Myres' (1969:34ff) and Hills' (1976) chronology.

Based on stamp-linked groups and type typology there was, according to Hills (1980), a tendency for the early graves to be placed centrally at the site. Thus, with these results in mind there is a possibility of eliminating the more obvious chronological variables in the analysis, which may disturb an analysis of social aspects, as discussed in detail in Chapter two. In that way the patterns identified can with some reason be seen as reflecting social aspects that is the main goal in this chapter.

Analysis of Spong Hill

There were 57 inhumations at Spong Hill all situated in the northeastern corner of the site. The elaborate cruciform brooches as well as other brooches suggest that they are relatively later than the majority of the cremations. As mentioned above several cremations cutting a number of inhumations show that the two types

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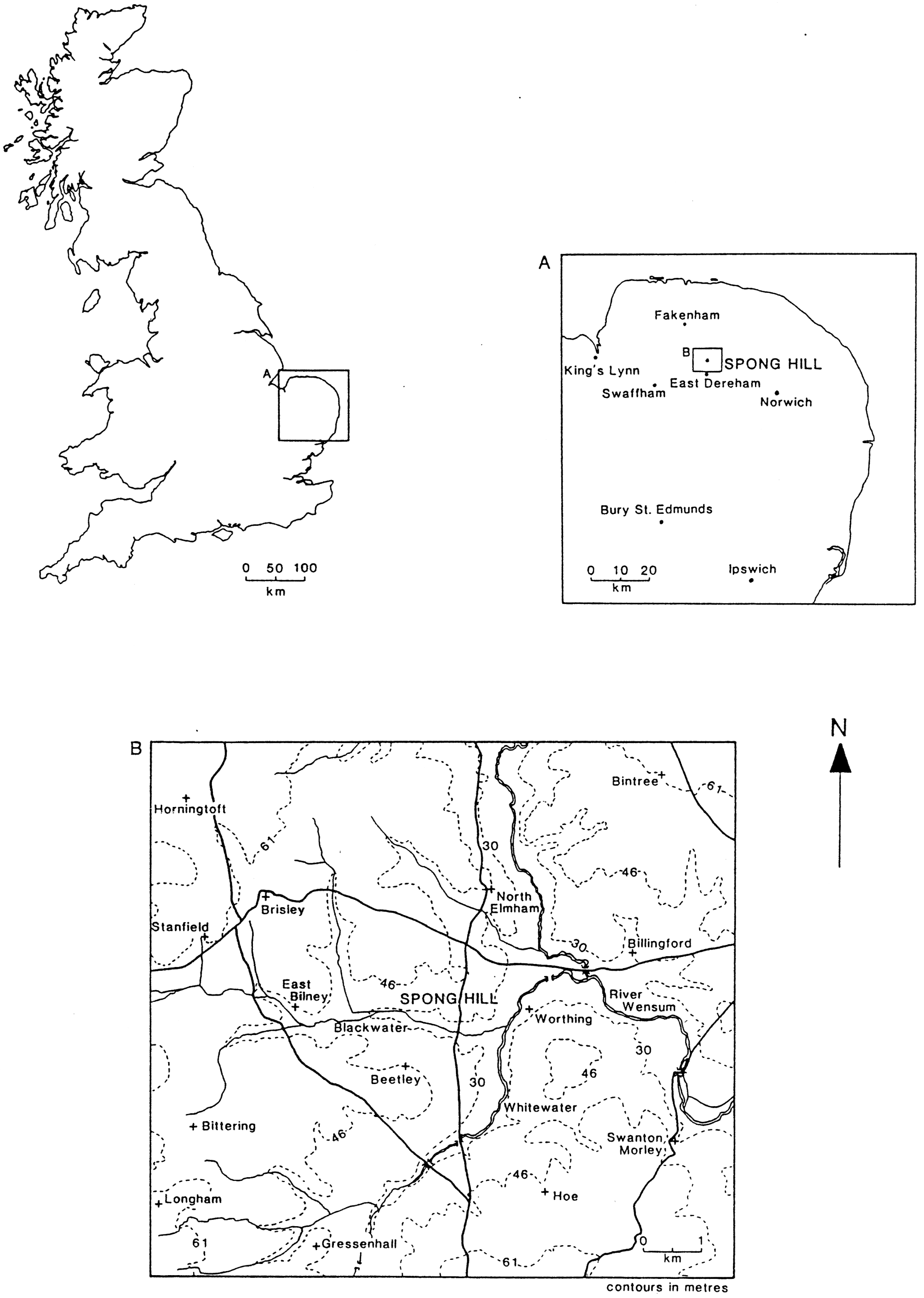
[2] I am very grateful to my supervisor C. Hills for giving me access to her entire updated database from Spong Hill (1997).

[3] The inhumations suggests a date within the 6th century, between 500-570 AD, (Hines, pers.comm.)

[4] Nielsen has kindly given me access to the preliminary results of her stylistic analyses. Thus, she is the author of fig 8.2 and 8.3.


A
0 50 100
km
A
Fakenham
B
SPONG HILL
King's Lynn
East Dereham
Swaffham
Norwich
Bury St. Edmunds
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Ipswich
N
B
Horningtoft
Bintree
61
30
46
Brisley
North Elmham
Stanfield
30
Billingford
East Bilney
46
SPONG HILL
River Wensum
Blackwater
Worthing
30
46
Beetley
30
Whitewater
Bittering
46
Swanton Morley
46
Hoe
Longham
61
Gressenhall
61
0 1
km
contours in metres

Fig. 8.1. Location maps of Spong Hill. A) Showing relationship of Spong Hill to major towns in the region. B) Contour map with rivers, roads and nearby settlements (From Hills et al 1984).

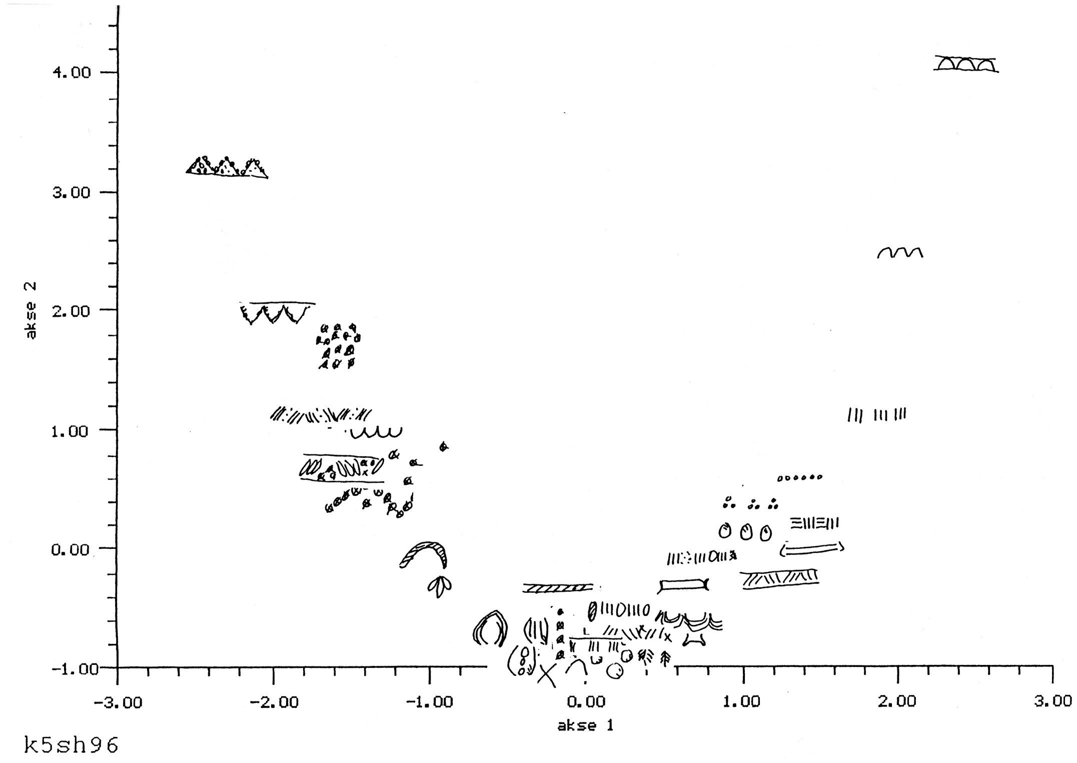

Fig. 8.2. Seriation of a number of variables. One sees the characteristic parabola suggesting a continuity of a number of ornaments. (By kind permission of Karen Høilund Nielsen).

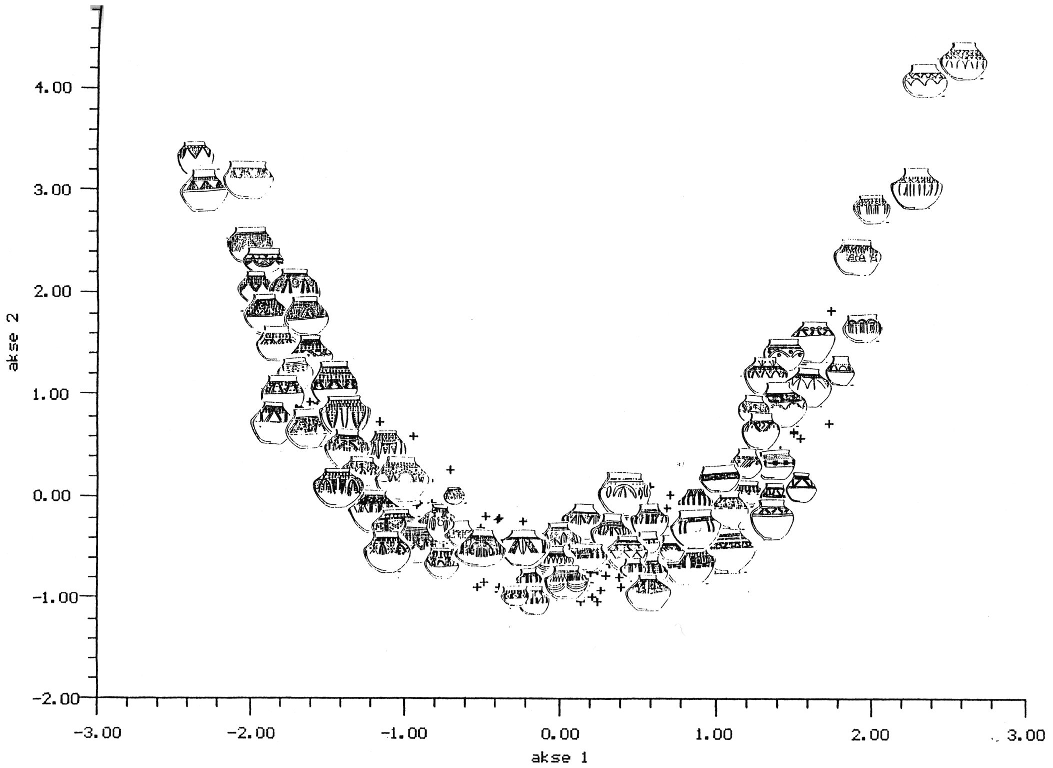

Fig. 8.3. Seriation of a number of pots. (By kind permission of Karen Høilund Nielsen).

of graves also were partly coexistent.

At the inhumation site there were few skeletons preserved making it possible only to sex a third of the graves[5]. In this sample 25% of the skeletons were males, females consisting of the rest (fig 8.4). In terms of age 46% could be assessed. Here adults accounted for 80 %, sub-adults 14%, children 6% (fig 8.5). The few children's graves can possibly be explained by bad preservational conditions in general at the site. Another explanation may also be a tendency not to bury children under a certain age (Härke 1992a). Thus, graves 52 and 54 being very small must have belonged to infants, though the absence of skeletal remains means this cannot be confirmed.

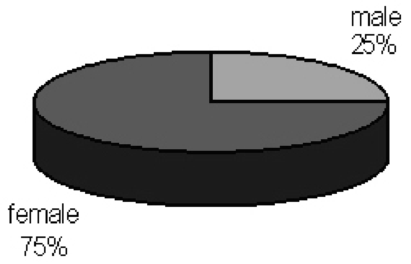

Fig. 8.4. Distribution of sexed males and females at the Sponf Hill inhumation site, N=20

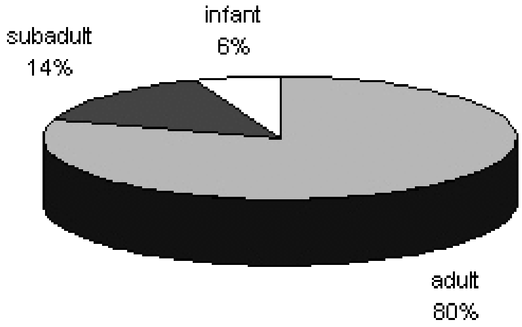

Fig. 8.5. Age at Spong Hill inhumation site, N=35.

In the fabric groups (fig 8.6) fabric type 1 was the most frequent, followed by fabric type IV. Interestingly, as mentioned by Hills et al (1984:32) the fabric groups were identical with those of the cremations, substantiating the co-existence of the two burial types. This fact also indicates that the inhumed persons as well as those from the cremations belonged to the same community, having access to the same raw material, as also the general range of artefact types seem to suggest (Hills pers. comm.).

As far as ornamentation on the 44 pots, most of them are plain (fig 8.7). Second, comes linear ornamentation. The absence of stamps in comparison to the cremation graves is striking. Only stamp type I, II, III, IV, V, VI, VII are present. Clearly, this must mean that pots were used differently in that decoration on pots as well as stamps mattered less in the burial ritual of the inhumation graves, possibly because more obvious symbols were used, namely the unburned artefacts.

Multivariate analysis of the inhumation graves

The first CA analysis (fig 8.9) came out with a tendency for female graves (triangles) to cluster with beads, girdle hangers etc. in one side of the scattergram. Gradually male graves (semi-open squares) cluster with weapons, i.e. spear heads (spear)[6] shield bosses (shboss) in the other side. Swords did not make it in the analysis because there were only two which does not make them qualify for a CA analysis. In fact there is only one sword in grave 40, because the other is interpreted as a weaving batten, partly because it is found in a female find context, partly from form and metallurgical analyses (Hills et al 1984:162). Thus, we must make a note that a sword is unique and accept that grave 40 is unique.

What we see in the analysis is in fact a homogeneous female group and a heterogeneous male group. We must also note that graves 27, 32, 40, 41, 49 and 54, which unfortunately could not be sexed, but definitely must be male from their positions in the plot, exclude themselves from other male graves. Those are all graves with weapons and - we must assume - graves with high status.

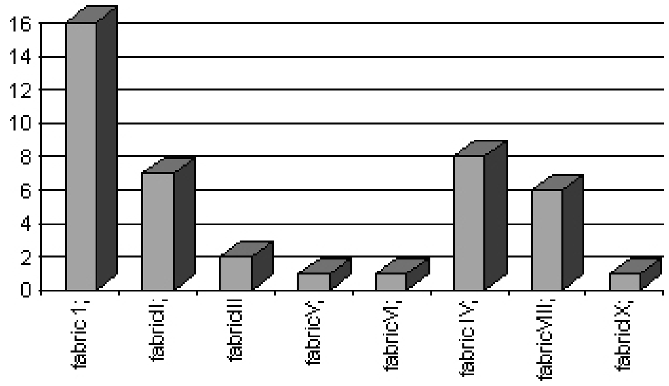

Fig. 8.6. Fabric groups from pottery at the Spong Hill inhumation site, N=49 pots.

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[5] In this analysis the assessment of skeletal material from McKinley (1994:136) has been used.

[6] The abbreviated names are necessary because WINBASP cannot read more than eight characters. The names in brackets are the ones to be found in the scattergram.

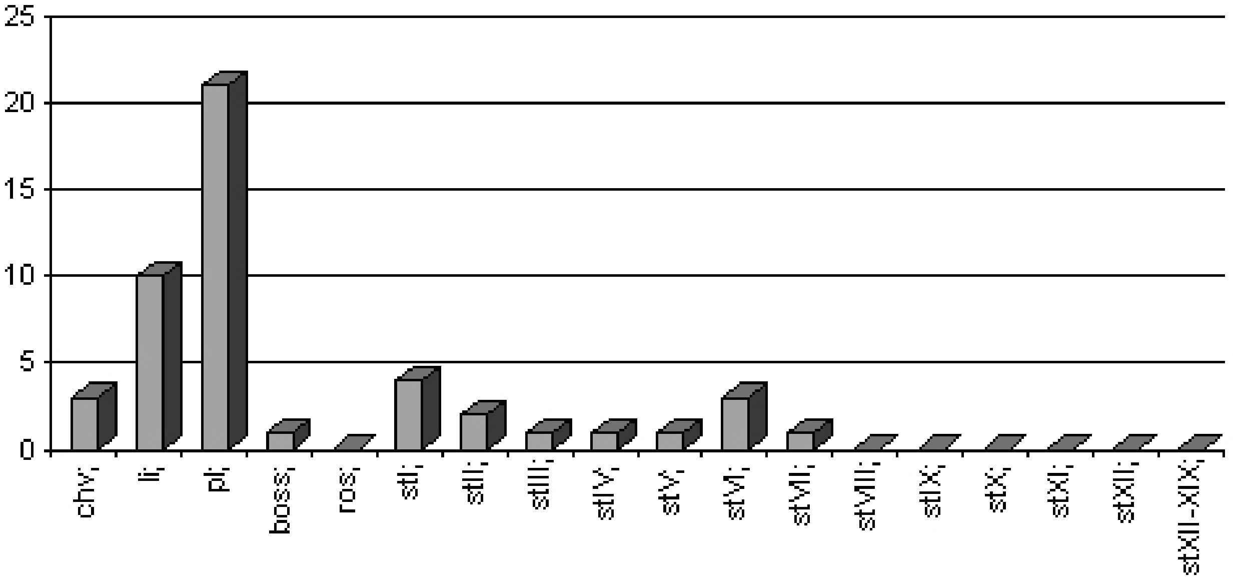

Fig. 8.7. Ornamentation at the Spon Hill inhumation site, N=57

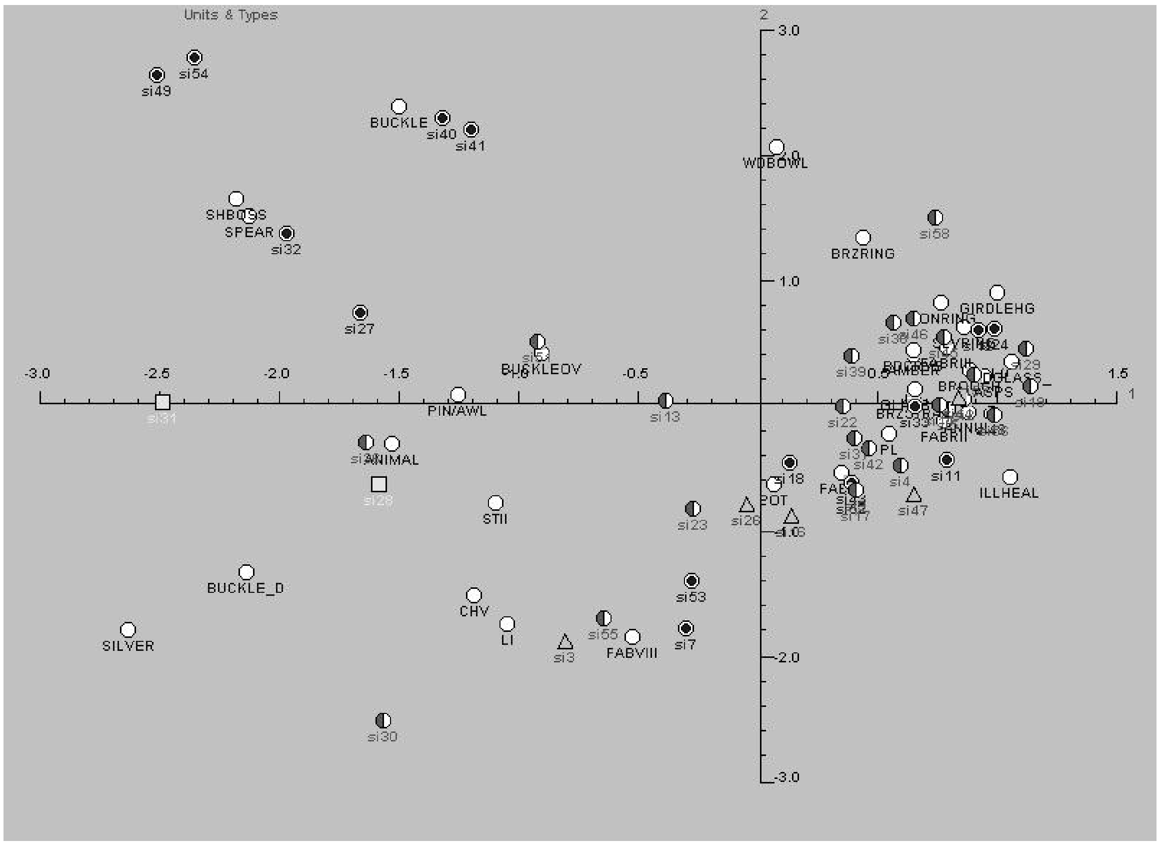

Fig 8.8 (File: ald2002.orw) Distribution of artefacts and graves that have been assessed an age upon. (semi-open circles represent adult graves, triangles sub-adults, squares = infants, open circles = artefacts, Circles with a dot = graves that had no skeletons to be determined).

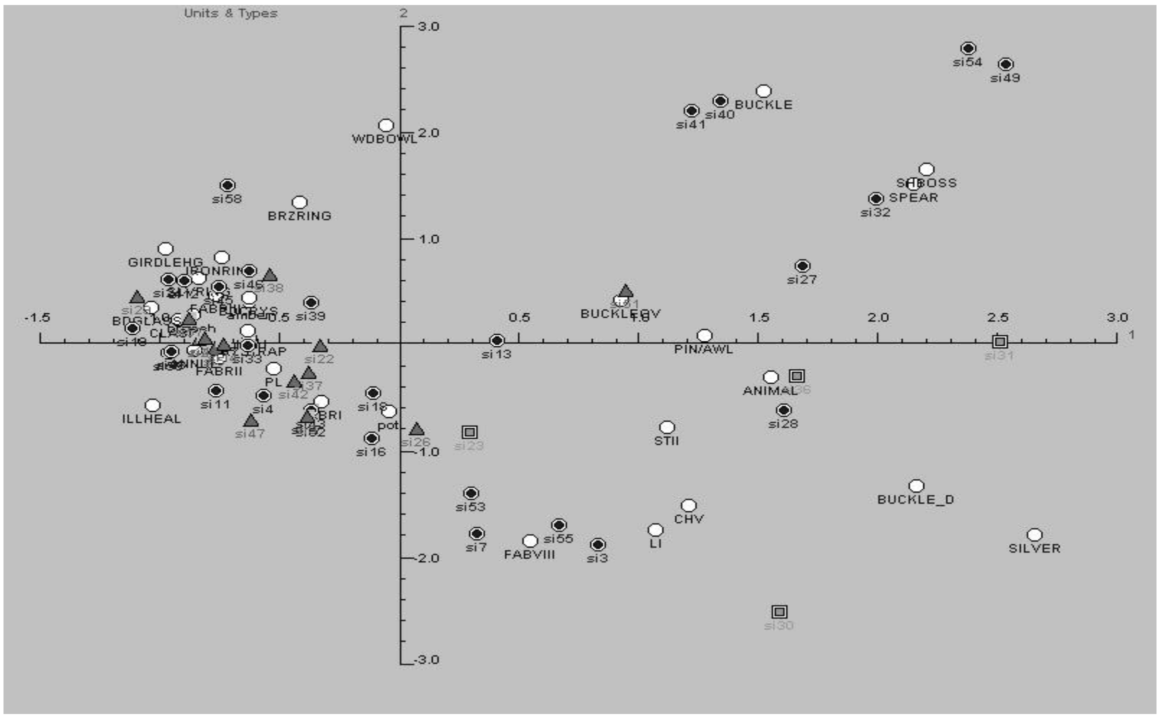

Fig 8.9. (inko2002.orw). Sexed females = triangles. Sexed males = squares. Circles = graves without well-preserved bones. Open circles = variables. Dotted circles = graves that could not be sexed. Si-xx = number on graves. Key: Silver = Silver. StI = Stamp type I. Buckle_D = D-formed buckle. Animal = Animal bones. STII. Stamp type II. CHV = Chevron ornamentation. Linear = Linear ornamentation. FABVIII = Fabric type VIII. PIN/AWL = Pins and/or awls. Buckleov = Oval buckle. Pot = Pot. Buckle = Buckle, any type. SHBOSS = Shield Boss. Spear = Spear head. WDBOWL = Wooden bowl. BRZRING = Bronze ring. Girdlehg = Girdle hanger. IRONRING = Iron ring. SLVRING = Silver ring. FabrIII = Fabric type III. BDCRYS = Bead of crystal. Amber = Amber. Glsbd = Glass bead. BRZSTRAP = Bronze strap. FABRI = Fabric type I. PL = Plain pots. FABRII = Fabric type II. Anull = Annullus. ILLHEAL = Ill health (on skeletons). BROOCH = Brooch. CLASPS = Wrist clasps. BDGLASS = Glass beads.

The latter proposition remains to be corroborated in the spatial analysis to follow below. The remains of the male group are associated with artefacts such as d-formed buckles, pin/awls, animals in graves, fabric VIII, chevrons, stamp II, and silver.

The females

There is a relation between a number of brooches (brch), annular brooches (annul) wrist clasps (clasp), glass and amber beads (bdglass) (amber), bronze straps (brzstrap) as well as girdle hangers (girdlehg). Also interesting is the connection between ill health (illheal) and females. The significance of this may be doubted because the preservation of bones is bad. Variables such as fabric I, fabric II, fabric III, plain pots and silver ring appear quite clearly in the female side of the plot.

Wooden containers and buckets (wdbowl) as well as pots appear in both male and female graves. As is the case among the cremation graves, female inhumation graves are quite homogeneous. Graves which clearly associate themselves with the female sphere are graves 46, 45, 33, 39, 24, 12, 57, 56, 29,48, 19, 2, 4, 5, 47, 37, 11, 9, 17, 42. Also graves 18, 58, and 16, which could not be sexed, are from the combinations of material closer to the female sphere. McKinley may have sexed grave 51 wrongly since it contains weapons and places itself in the male sphere.

The male group A

The previously mentioned male weapon group is called male group A. It consists of spearheads (spear), shield bosses (shboss), buckles and animals (animal). The graves belonging to this category are all placed in one side. They appeared with either a spearhead or/and a shield boss or/and a buckle. Those are graves 13, 32, 49, 51, 54. Grave 50 is male but cannot make it through a CA analysis since it has only one variable, the other two being the categories of the sexed and aged skeleton, which had to be excluded in the CA analysis. This also counts for graves 35, 34,25, 15, 10, 1, 20, 6 which had too few variables to make it through a CA analysis. Grave 50, however, with the sexing of the skeleton and the presence of a spear makes it belong in the high prestigious male group A. Also we have gravers 27, 28, 31, 40 and 41. Internally, the group can be subdivided into graves 40 and 41, which are special and which together with the sword in grave 40 appear with much more material as well as with buckles, a thing which distinguishes them in detail from the other graves. In sum, it can be said that the characteristics of group A are the appearance of weapons, but still there is an internal division between spearheads and buckles together and swords and buckles, seen in grave 40, containing the only sword on site.

Male group B

What the second male group (group B) has in common is only that it deviates from group A. Here appear different forms of decoration on pots, such as linear as well as chevron ornamentation. Also stamp type II as well as fabric group VIII seems predominantly a male phenomenon, but belonging to group B. Silver appears predominantly in group B. The graves in group B are graves 3, 23, 30, 53, 55 and 8. grave 8 is an outlier, because it only contains linear ornamentation and stamp group I.

Age

In the distribution of age (fig 8.8), adults (semi-opened circles) appear in the upper part of the scattergram together with wooden containers, bronze ring, iron ring, buckle, shield boss and spear. Below the 0 line on the x-axis the younger skeletons appear (squares). To the right, sub-adult skeletons appear with fabric groups I and II and with ill health (open triangles). As mentioned, the few skeletons put doubt to the significance of a relation between sub-adult females and ill health. To the left, also below the 0 line of the X-axis, infants appear together with silver, animal and fabric group VIII. There are no stamp groups connected to age. Taking a look at the spatial context as well as the general find context of the site may substantiate the meaning of these distributions in a CA.

Spatial and stratigraphic distribution of the inhumations

The distribution of gender of the graves corresponds well with that made by the excavators (Hills et al 1984:9) as well as by McKinley of the bones (1994:136), except from grave 51 which in the CA clusters clearly together with the male graves in combinations of artefacts, which is why I assess it to be male. Also grave 3 is by me seen as male in that most of its combinations appear with male artefacts.

Judging from the stratigraphy of the ditches the male group A can be divided into at least two phases, grave 40 being older than graves 31 and 32 (fig 8.10). I suggest that the leading person of the community was buried in grave 40. He was buried first, then his wife (or grown-up daughter followed) (grave 42) and some children or the family or servants (graves 47, 44, 43) followed suit. Also grave 41 with his spouse(s) (or daughters)[7] (grave 58 and 57) seem important from the CA, but its relation with the leading grave 40 cannot be clearly assessed from the stratigraphy. Only it seems that it respects the ditches. Judging from the closeness in space he may have been related both in time and in family to the leading male spouse in grave 40.

The ring ditch of the leading male in grave 40 is cut by a ditch, which must have belonged to the male graves 31 and 32. I suggest that graves 31 and 32 are the next generation of primary spouses of the same family being inhumed. Their deviance from grave 40 and 41 in the CA may be of chronological nature, meaning that buckle and sword appeared in the older high prestige graves, whereas it disappeared in the younger. The spouse(s) (or daughters) of the men in graves 31 and 32 may be graves 46 and 45. Alternatively, their spouses are graves 42 and 47, as they are later than grave 40. Grave 34 is older than graves 31 and 32 judging from the ditch. The other graves in the eastern section of the inhumation graves could be family or retainers, belonging to the leading family, because graves 36 and 51 appear with weapons (spearhead and shield boss and/or buckle). Their spouses were probably in graves 33 and 48, respectively. The small ditch north of grave 51 may be the remaining part of a ditch from a small mound, meaning that grave 51 may belong to the most prestigious group. Grave 54 is also placed in the "important" end of the CA, which may suggest that it as grave 49 were important. It could however also mean that they varied in a chronological manner from the rest of the graves.

The western part of the cemetery is less clear. The spatial distribution of graves could be construed as being the burial of three families. Here the first group consists of graves 28, 30 and 23 being the male graves surrounded by female graves 22, 24, 26, 29. It is unclear what gender grave 25 was. Grave 28 and 23 do not belong in the high prestigious group but clearly belong to the male side in the CA analysis. The next group consists of male graves 13 and 27, which are surrounded by female graves 18,16,14, 11,2, 12 and maybe grave 17 also belong to this group. Grave 27 could be attributed to the prestigious group since it contains both shield boss, spear and buckle. It also could be the older male graves being succeeded by the male grave 13. The final group may have been the group consisting of the male graves 8, 3 and 7, which are surrounded by the female graves 4, 5, 9 and 19.

In sum, two scenarios can be construed from the spatial distribution of the inhumation graves of Spong Hill. Both depend on the estimated lifetime of the inhumation site which is not clear. Were it only two generations (= 80 years)[8] at least 29 persons used the inhumation site. This indicates that people from 2-3 contemporary farmsteads were inhumed. With three generations being buried, 19 persons were buried at the site in average, leaving only two farmsteads using the inhumation site. From the stratigraphy it is likely that the inhumations only covered two. There is no other stratigraphic evidence suggesting that three graves cut each other. If that is true, the

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[7] I am not necessarily referring to polygamy, but rather to the high death rate of women in non-industrial societies.

[8] Two generations are estimated to be 80 years, the formula is (P= a x b/c) =57 x 40/80= 28.5. As mentioned above independently of this calculation, but based on the chronology of the artefacts also Hines (pers. comm.) suggests a lifetime of ca 70 years.

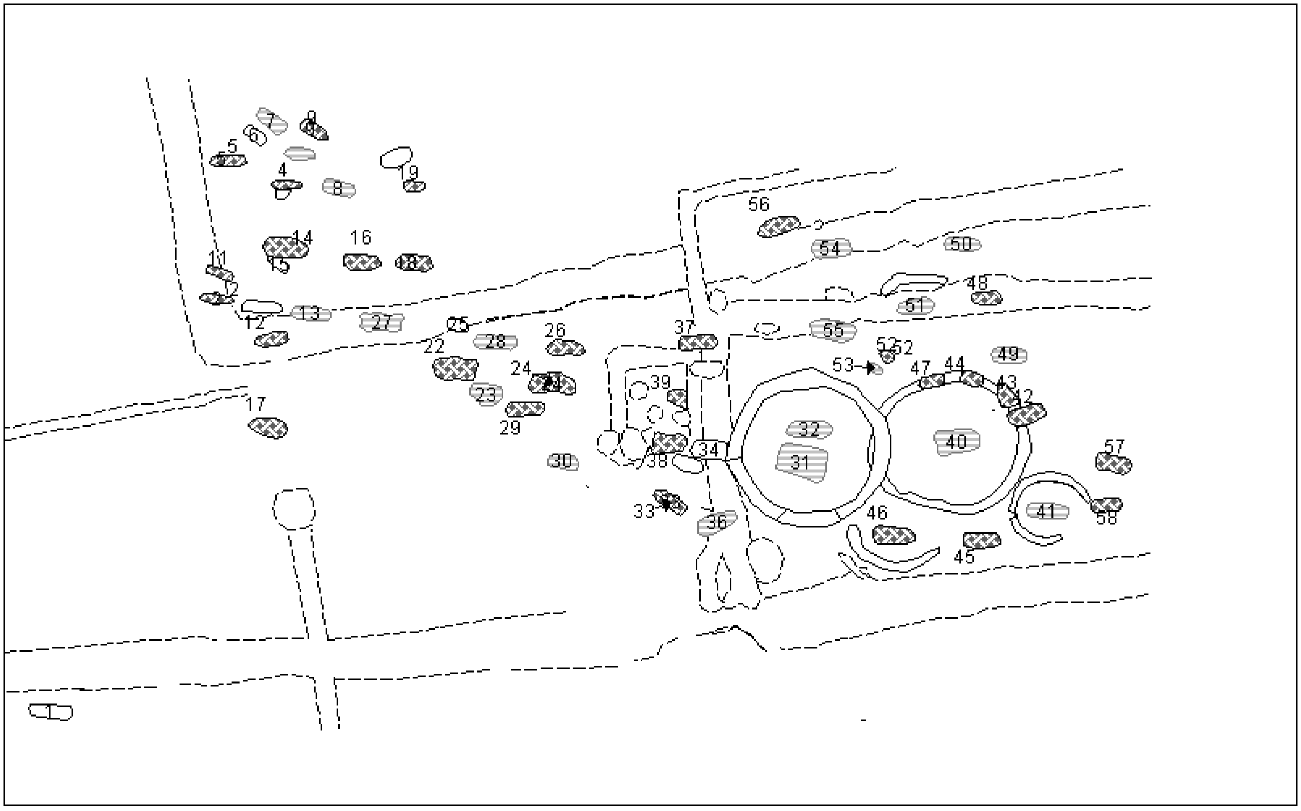

Fig 8.10. Male and female graves according to the CA analysis. Male =stripes; females = chevrons.

inhumation cemetery can be interpreted as two big or three normal size contemporary farmsteads. I suggest from the chorological distribution as well as the discussion of stratigraphy that the inhumations at Spong Hill can be divided into at least two sections, the eastern section being the one where ring ditches surround the graves, the western section being either slightly earlier, or belonging to two or three other contemporary farmsteads (fig 8.10). The eastern section belonged to the most important farm, judging from the quality, quantity as well as combinations of finds in the CA analysis. I suggest that the family of the male spouse in grave 40 was the leader of the area. His son(s) or successor in grave(s) 31 and 32 took over that role after his death. Further analysis awaits a chronological assessment, which will be able to suggest whether the eastern and western groups were contemporaneous. I shall now move on to compare it with the cremation graves.

The cremations

The general picture from Spong Hill shows that more than half of the cremation graves were furnished, more than a third being unfurnished (fig 8.11). Only 3 % of the graves had no urns (fig 8.12). From the distribution of age it is evident that there is a majority of adults, being present in more than half of the graves, the infants amounting to only 17 %, sub-adults comprising 20 % (fig 8.13). It was only possible to sex 651 cremation graves at Spong Hill. From here it is seen that the majority were females, males only amounting to 40 % (fig 8.14); as shall be seen below in the CA analysis the possible male and female categories (male?; female ?) were supported to be females and males respectively.

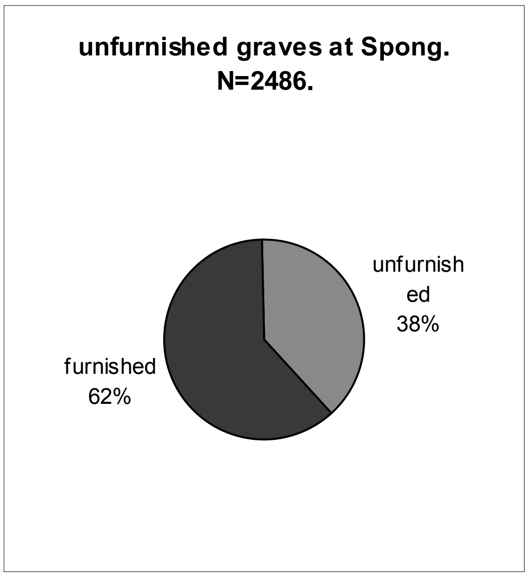

Fig. 8.11

Also a number of animals were burned with humans; the animals appeared in 40 %[9] of all burials (fig 8.15). This number is slightly higher but relatively similar to the percentage of animals identified in cremations at other cremation cemeteries such as Sancton (48%), Baston (30

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[9] These calculations are based on the updated database given to me by Hills (1997). There are only minor deviances from the results reached by McKinley (1994:92), which can be explained by the re-assessment and re-categorisation of finds, but the general trend is the same.

%), Elsham and Newark (28.6%) and Loveden Hill (23%)[10]. It supports that animals were a substantial part of the grave ritual, as also seen in other parts of Europe (McKinley 1994:98). Out of a total of 985 graves, sheep appeared in 39%, horse in 22 % of the cases (fig 8.16). The rest belonged to other kinds of animals, such as pig, dog, bear as described in detail by McKinley (1994:92).

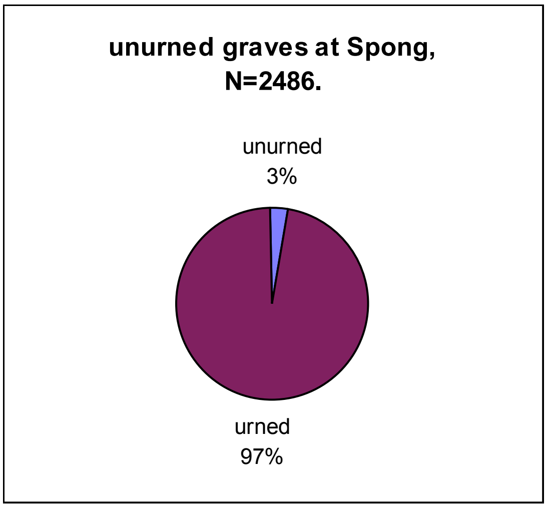

Fig. 8.12

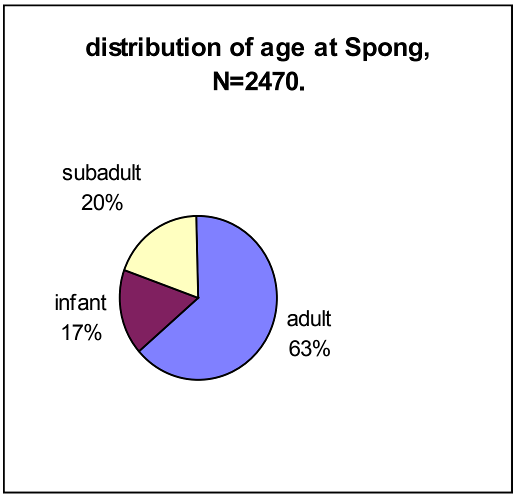

Fig. 8.13

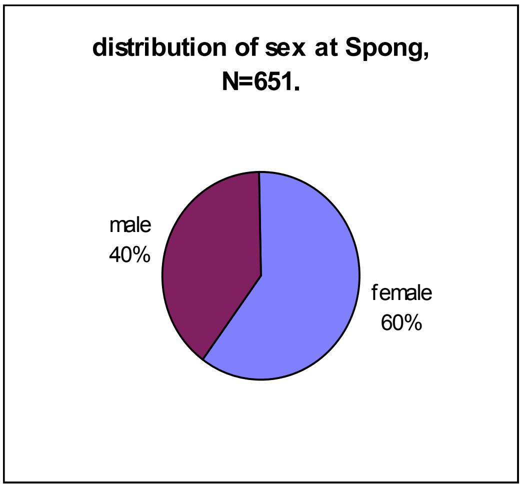

Fig. 8.14

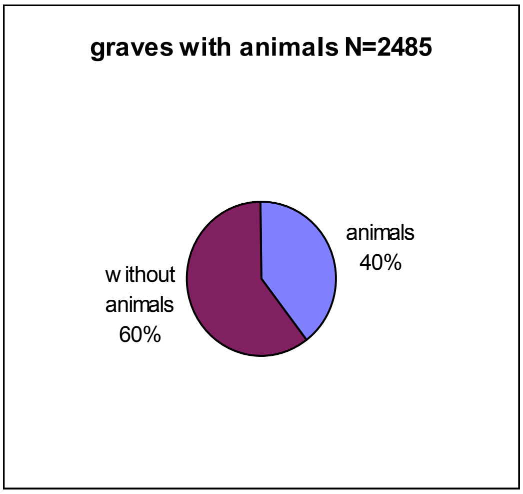

Fig. 8.15

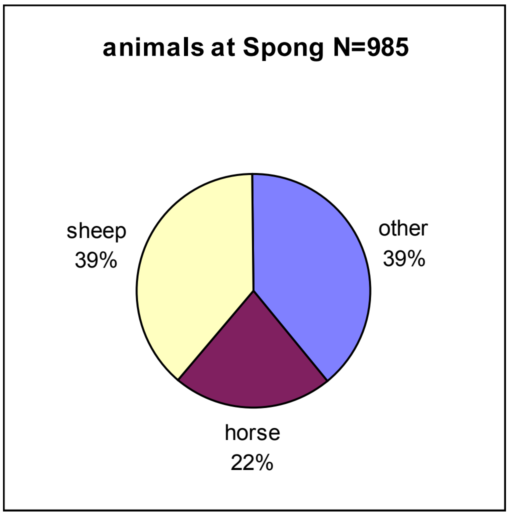

Fig. 8.16

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[10] The results from McKinley (1994) have here been preferred from those from Richards (1987), as the latter were reached at an early state, when cremated bones from cemeteries were incomplete.

Form and decoration

For the untrained eye most urns seem similar (figs 8.17 and 8.18). These, mainly biconical three-sectioned pots, have been dealt with by Richards (1987) who I shall return to. Instead, I shall focus on the ornamentation and artefacts in relation to sex and age, as Richards did not identify a clear pattern here, probably because the data and the kind of statistics that were available at the time were less advanced.

Judging from the incidence and variability of decoration it must have been important in the cremation ritual of the Anglo-Saxons. Only 417 out of 2485 pots were plain, which suggests that not more than 16 % of the pots were undecorated (fig 8.17). The importance and distribution of plain pots is suggested by Hills (1983:46). Here she points out the fact that plain pots often appear in multiple burials only in combination with ornamented pots, meaning that in reality more than 90% of burial deposits included decorated vessels.

The unusual nature of plain pots is also supported in a CA analysis, as it destroys any picture. This is why it has been excluded relatively early in the analysis. For the same reason the spatial distribution of plain pots was attempted (fig 8.19). The outcome places them over the entire site, in at least 8 or 9 groups Thus, not being related to sex or age, suggests a meaning in terms of low social status.

In comparison to other forms of decoration it is seen that linear decoration is the most dominant element at pots appearing on more than half (68 %) of all urns. The tendency to decorate on the upper half of the pot is also dominating. This supports Richards's (1992:146) hypothesis that pots were designed to be viewed from above. Stamp decoration is the third biggest group appearing on almost a third of the pots (8.17). The division of stamps into types I-XIX made by Hills et al (1977) has been followed here. Stamp type I appears in most cases followed by stamp type VII (fig 8.20). The meaning of the individual stamp types will be discussed below.

Stamps, gender and age

The following comparisons are a conventional analysis of the presence and number of stamp types, decoration and artefacts in relation to aged and sexed skeletons. In order to make the data compatible to others' in the discussion (Richards 1987) a percentage of artefacts in relation to sexed and aged skeletons is being presented. Methodologically, the results may be compared to the results of the CA analysis, thus revealing as many aspects as possible.

In a conventional analysis the relation between sexed skeletons and stamp types is seen on fig 8.21. Here it is obvious that stamp types I, II, III, IV and XII appear mostly in female graves, stamp types VII and VIII, XI and XIII-XIX appearing in a predominantly male context. Though as shall be seen below the significance of this small sample is not as straightforward, because a multivariate analysis puts most stamp types in a male context. In the relationship between stamps and age (fig 8.22) it is seen that stamp types I, II, V, VII, appear predominantly in adult contexts, whereas stamp types III, and XI, and XIII-XIX appear mainly in a sub-adult context. There is no dominance of stamp types in an

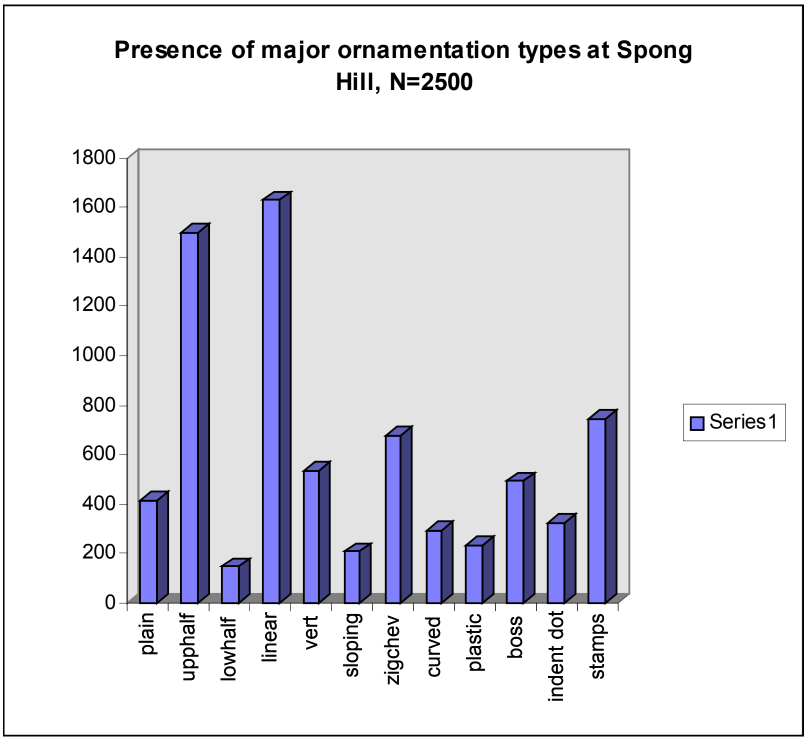

Fig. 8.17

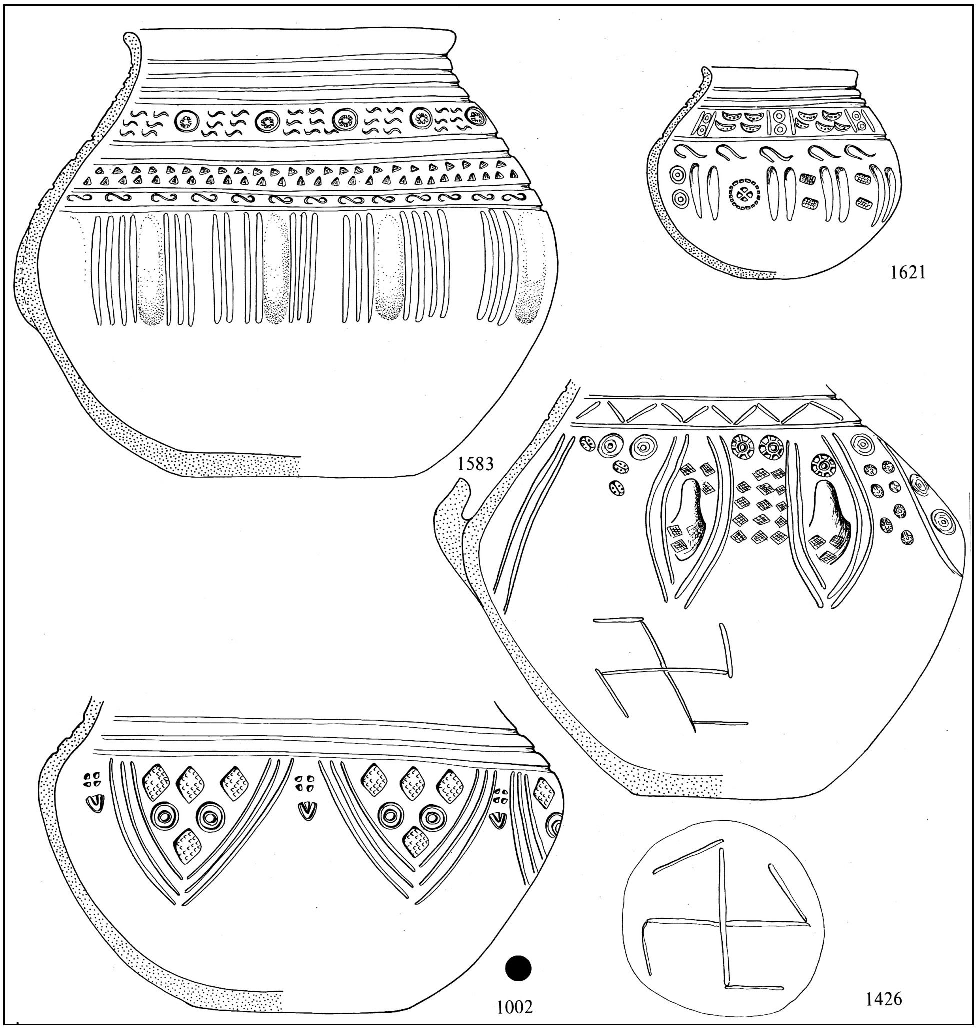

Fig. 8.18. Examples of pots with decoration from cremation graves at Spong Hill

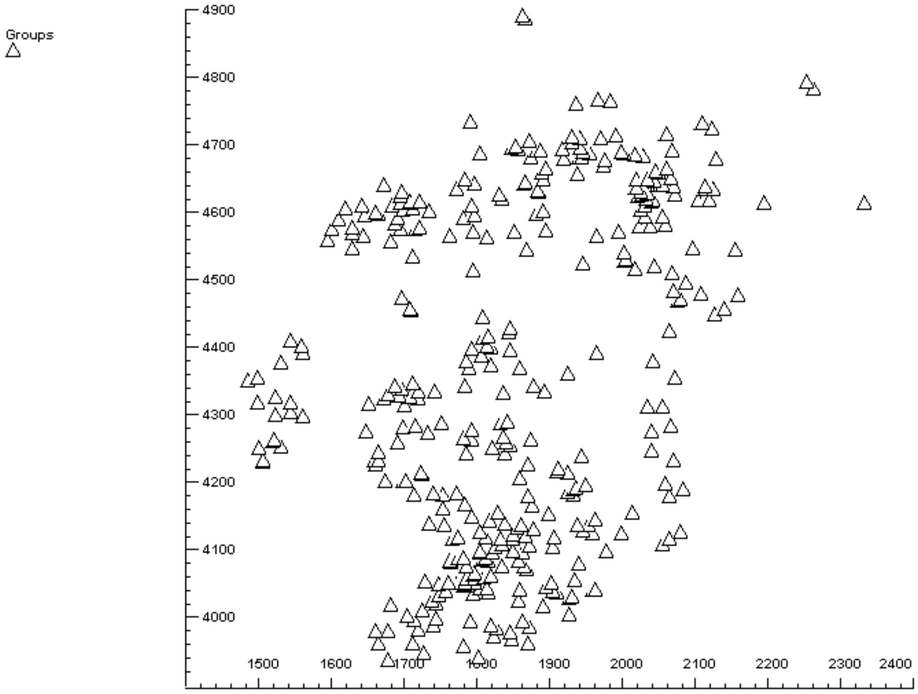

Fig 8.19. Spatial distribution of plain pots among the cremations at Spong Hill.

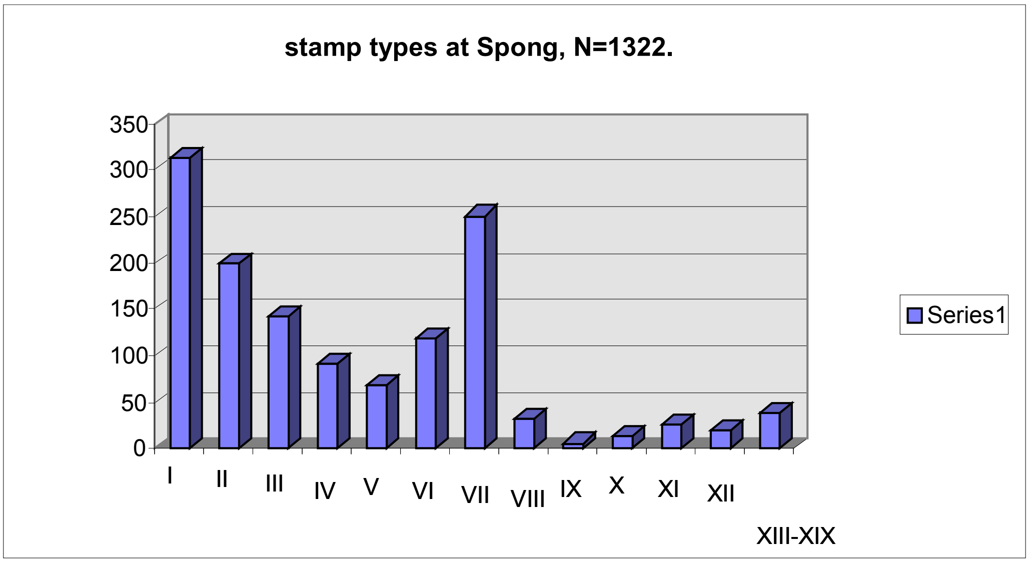

Fig. 8.20

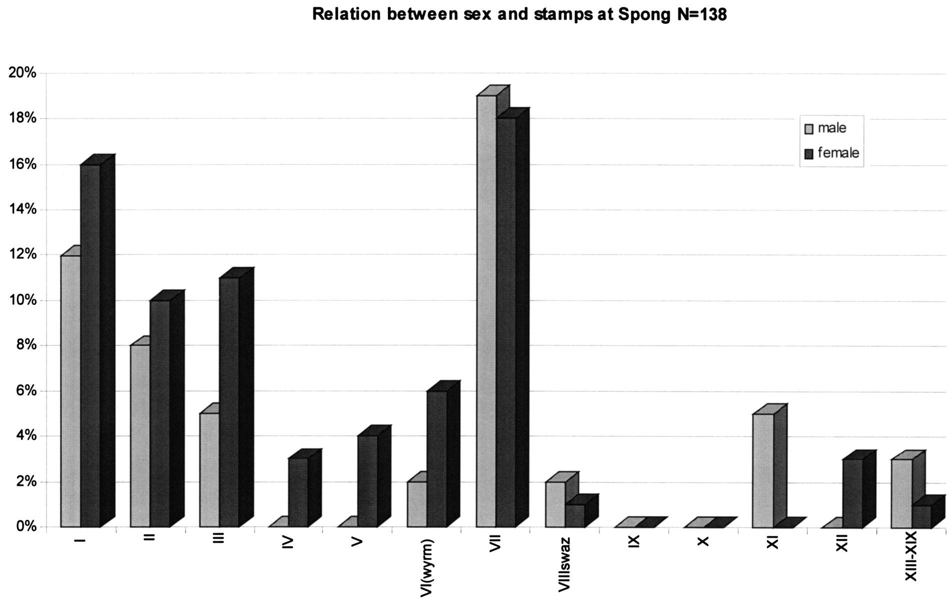

Fig. 8.21

infant context. Infants seem to follow the pattern of either adults or sub-adults, except for stamp type III, IV, VI, and VII, which appear less frequently in an infant context.

Artefacts, gender and age

In a conventional analysis the relationship between artefacts and sexed skeletons is seen on fig 8.23. Brooches, bronze tweezers, miniature tweezers, bronze fittings, bronze fragments, flints, crystal and amber, glass vessels, glass beads, glass fragments, spindles, ivory, worked bone, appear mostly in a female context. In a male context, tweezers of iron, shears, miniature shears, razors, iron rivets, combs, animal, horse, sheep and multiple burials dominate.

In terms of age, (fig 8.24) brooches, bronze tweezers, iron tweezers, shears, bronze fittings, bronze fragments, iron rivets, crystal and amber, glass vessels, glass beads, glass fragments, spindles, ivory, play pieces, worked bone, combs, burials with animals, horse and sheep, dominate in adult graves. In sub-adult graves coin and multiple burials dominate. In infant's graves razor, bronze ring and weapons dominate. Razors and weapons in children's graves support the contention that the burial ritual is directed by the mourners and not by the dead themselves (Lucy 1995). As was discussed in the previous chapter also Härke found weapons in children's graves among inhumations (Härke 1992a)[11].

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[11] Please note here that the sum is only 138 (fig 8.23).

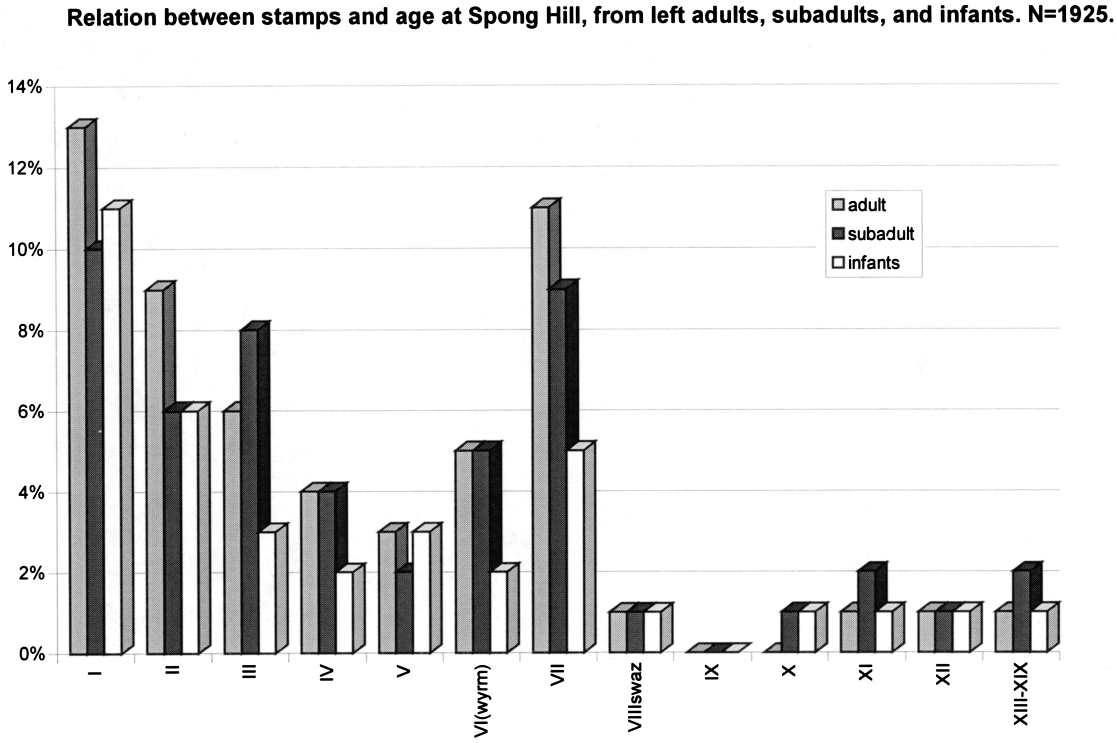

Fig. 8.22

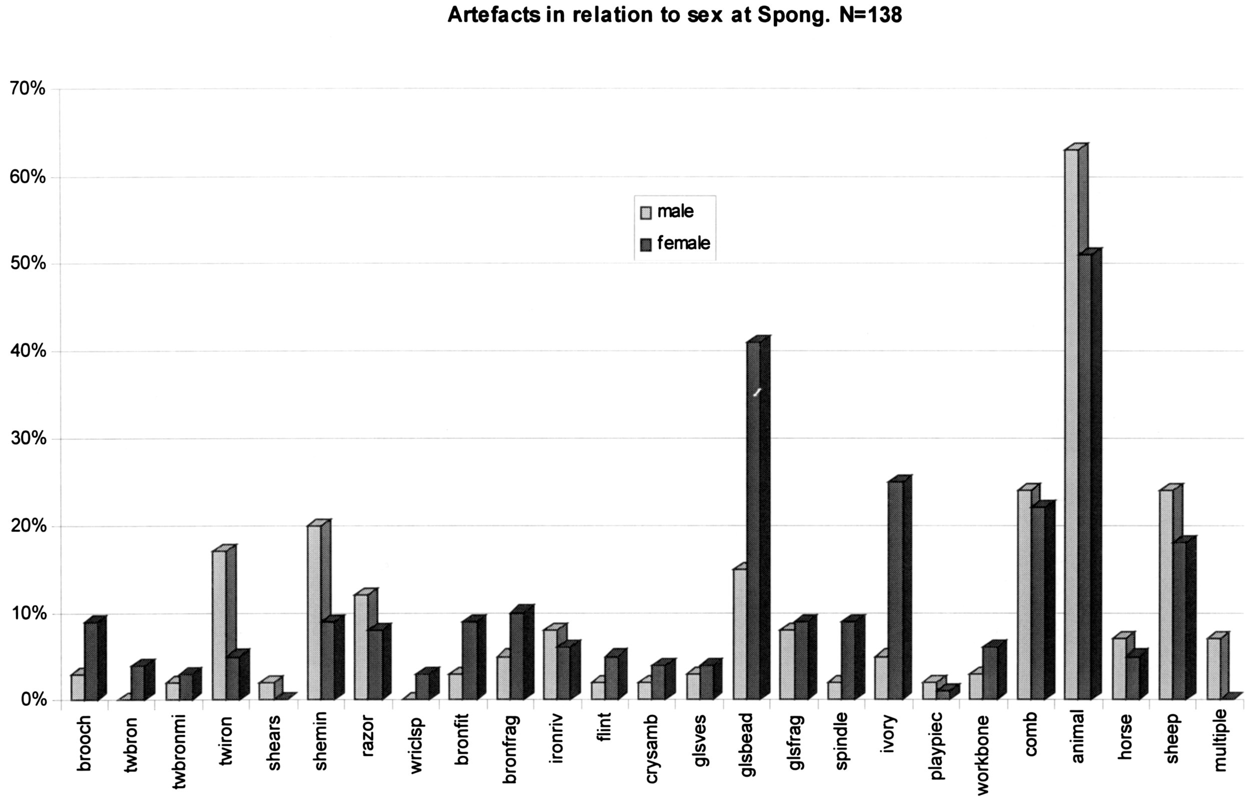

Fig. 8.23

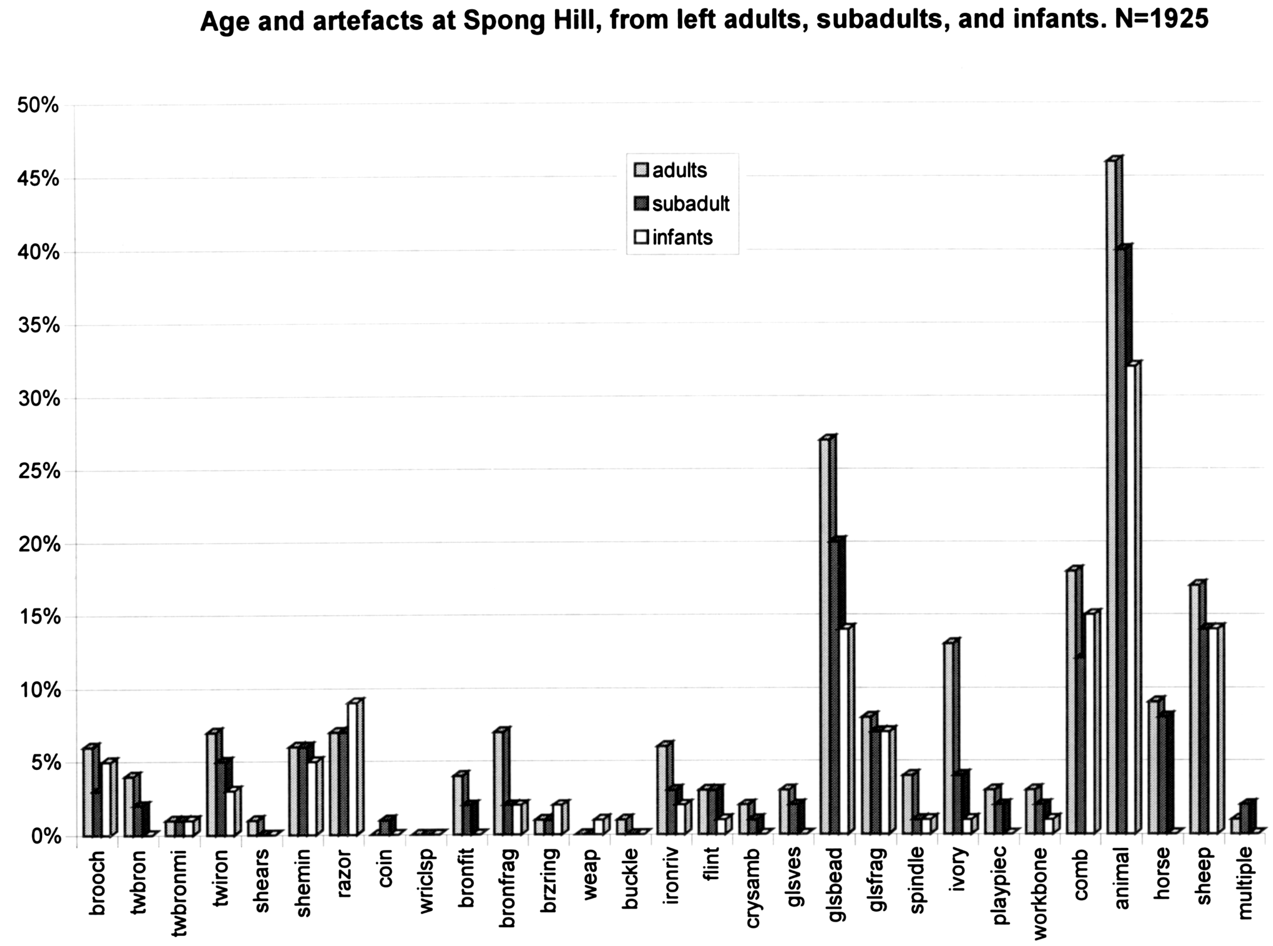

Fig. 8.24

Multivariate analysis of the Spong Hill cremations

Having subjected the cremations to conventional analysis, a CA analysis was attempted in order to assess the *significance* of the pattern above, a pattern, which may be biased by different factors, especially because sexed skeletons only amounted to 5.5 % of the total sample. As discussed above in a previous chapter, excluding chronological aspects, the structures found in the material can be interpreted as reflecting *social aspects* of Anglo-Saxon society, provided the contingency of regionality has been exhausted. As this analysis is of one site the issue of regionality should be a minor problem, though an ethnic aspect, being part of social structure (Jones 1997:131), cannot be avoided entirely and presents itself as a possible additional explanation for the social groupings identified. However, it seems from other works (Brush 1994) that ethnicity was expressed through the women on a larger regional scale, a thesis which may explain the homogeneity of the female grave goods at Spong Hill, being within an ethnic group.

Artefacts and ornaments in significant relationship to gender

The analysis[12] has been divided into an analysis of, firstly, graves with sexed skeletons in relation to groups of artefacts and decoration and, secondly, graves where age could be determined in relation to artefacts and decoration, because a high number of incidences blur any significant result if analysed together. The artefacts identified in the CA analysis are the ones, which *most clearly* can be associated with females, males, adults, sub-adults and infants respectively. In order to avoid circular conclusions the sexed skeletons have been excluded from the actual analysis. The graves that have been sexed have, however, been tagged with a symbol in the plot, so they may confirm or reject the results. Both categories such as female and female? have been lumped together and this will be discussed when some graves appear in the wrong group. In this analysis it is fair to suggest on *a statistically valid ground* that the following artefact associations are *significant* (Baxter 1994:111).

Results

The first CA analysis ended up with 2439 graves and 46 types, which could be used. Fig 8.25 shows a tendency towards a separation of three groups into a large group where mainly female graves occur together with among other things, spindle whorls and a gradual more male side where sexed male graves appear together with hone stone, play pieces etc. The pattern is a tendency only, which is why the miniature artefacts situated in the male side were excluded in the further analysis.

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[12] An analysis of 2500 graves requires a software package like WINBASP 5.2.

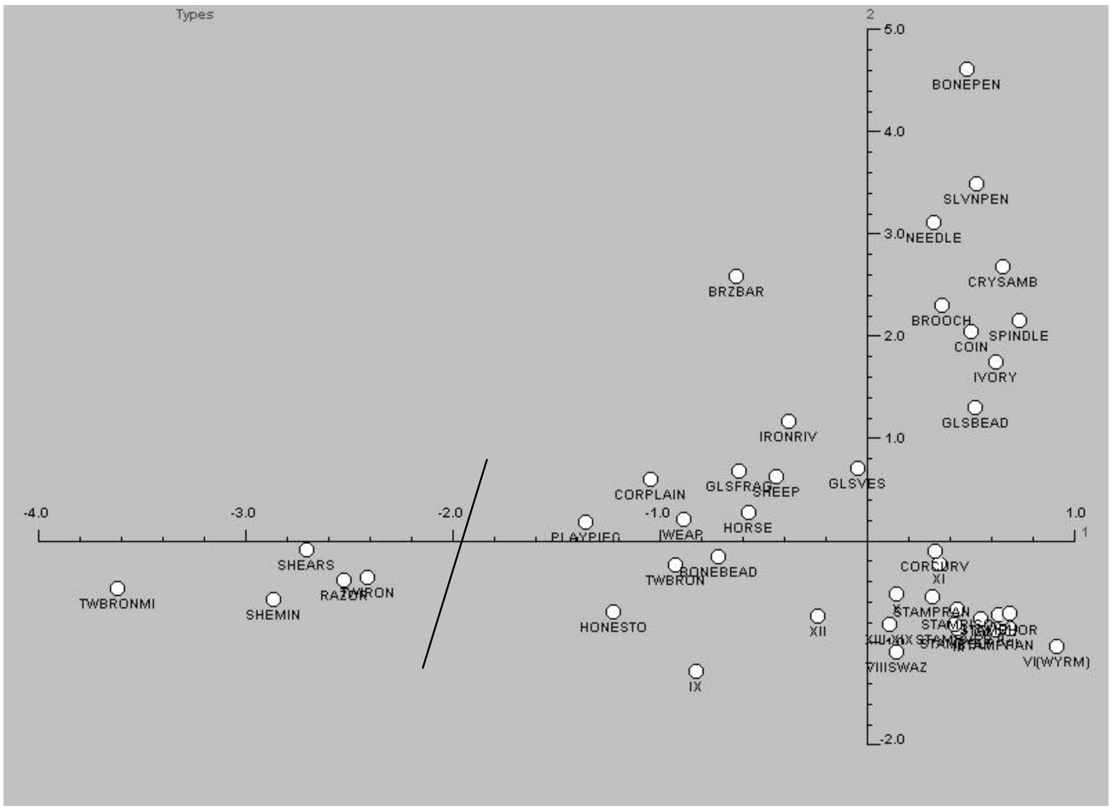

Fig 8.25a. (file: orn20001). The distribution of miniature artefacts and ornaments.
In the far left side of the plot miniature artefacts appear.

Key: Twbronmi = miniature tweezers of Bronze. Shemin = Miniature Shears. Shears = Shears. Razor = Razor. Twiron = Tweezers of Iron. Honesto = Hone Stone. Playpiec = Playing Piece. Twbron = Tweezers of Bronze. Bonebead = bone bead. Weap = weapon. Corplain = plain cordons. Horse = skeleton of horse. Sheep = Skeleton of sheep. Glsfrag = Fragment of glass. IX = Stamp type IX (for stamp types see Hills et al. 1977). XII = Stamp Type XII. Ironriv = Iron riverts. Glsves = glass vessel. Brzbar. Bronze barrel. Glsbead = glass bead. Ivory = Ivory. Coin = coin. Spindle = Spindle whorl. Brooch = brooch. Crysamb = Crystal/amber. Needle = needle. Slvpen = silver pendant. Bonepen = Bone pendant. Corcurv. Curved cordons. XI = Stamp type XI. X = Stamp type X. Stampran = Random Stamps. XIII-XIX = Stamp type XIII to XIX. Stampiso. Isolated stamps. Stampver = vertical stamps. Stampslp = Sloped stamps. III = stamp type III. IV = Stamp type IV. Stamphor. Horizontal stamps. VIIIswaz = Stamp type VIII (swastika). VI(wyrm) = Stamp type VI, Wyrm. VII = Stamp type VI. I = Stamp type I. II = Stamp type II. Stamppan = stamps.

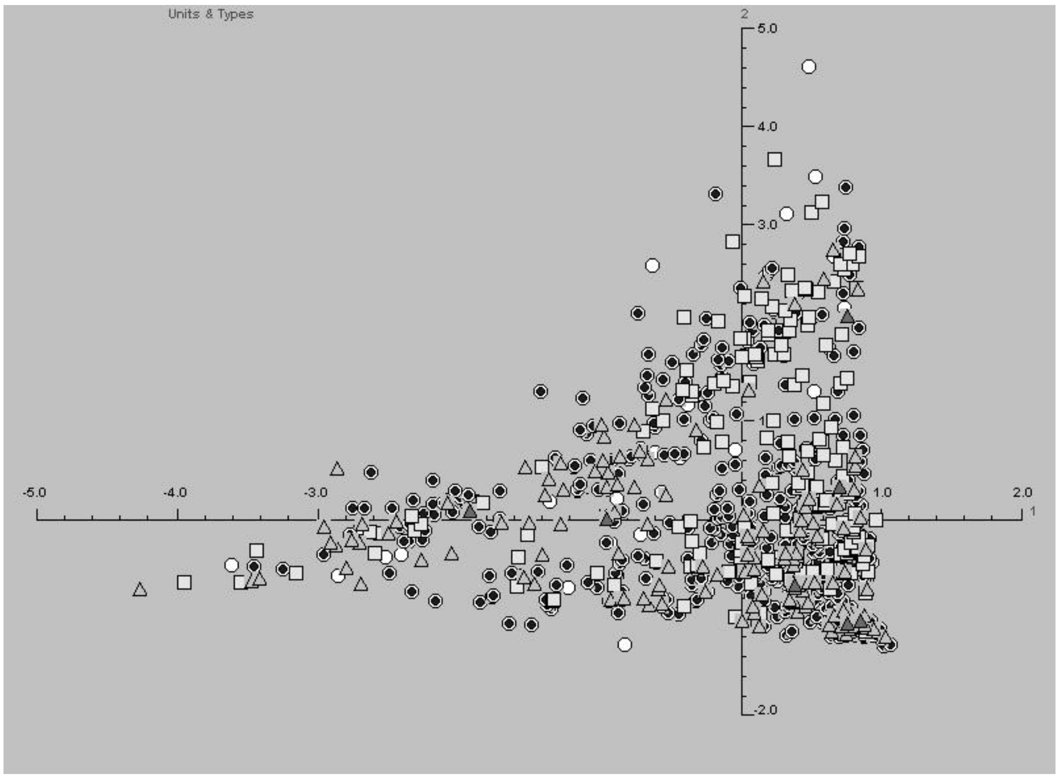

Fig 8.25b. (file: orn20011). Open squares are sexed female graves. Dotted circles are unsexed graves. Open triangles are male graves. Open circles are variables see 8.25a.

Group I

This group with miniature artefacts I shall call group I. The spatial distribution of miniature artefacts clusters in even groups over the entire site (fig 8.26), indicating that chronology was not a factor. This fact was confirmed by the presence of both late and early ornamentation on the pottery. But there was no significant relationship with a certain age group, not even in the conventional analysis above. There appeared both men and women in this group. The small number of graves justifies exclusion in a further analysis. Neither ornaments nor stamps could be associated, pointing to a low symbolic activity on pots, as is also the case among the women. The relatively few numbers of graves, as well as the low symbolic activity implies that group I was either poor or special in other ways, as I shall return to. Notice that miniature bronze tweezers and bone pendants are outliers and are excluded in the next analysis with the other miniature artefacts defined in group I.

Male group II

Excluding the miniature artefacts and a number of other badly defined variables, a tendency towards three groupings appear among the variables (fig 8.27)[13]. In the first group appear almost all stamp types from XI, X, VIIIswaz etc. Also here we have a dominance of mainly male sexed graves, which suggests that stamps on pots is a mainly male phenomenon. Only stamp type XII lies at some distance from the majority of stamps, together with weapons, tweezers of bronze as well as honestone, glass vessels and sheep. That there also appear a number of female graves requires an explanation. A closer scrutiny reveals that graves 1906, 1295, 2696, 1850, 2429, 2085, 1384 and 1733 all contained a category called "female?" skeleton. Could it be that some of the questionable female skeletons represent young men instead? If so there are very few clear female graves together within this group where stamps dominates on pots.

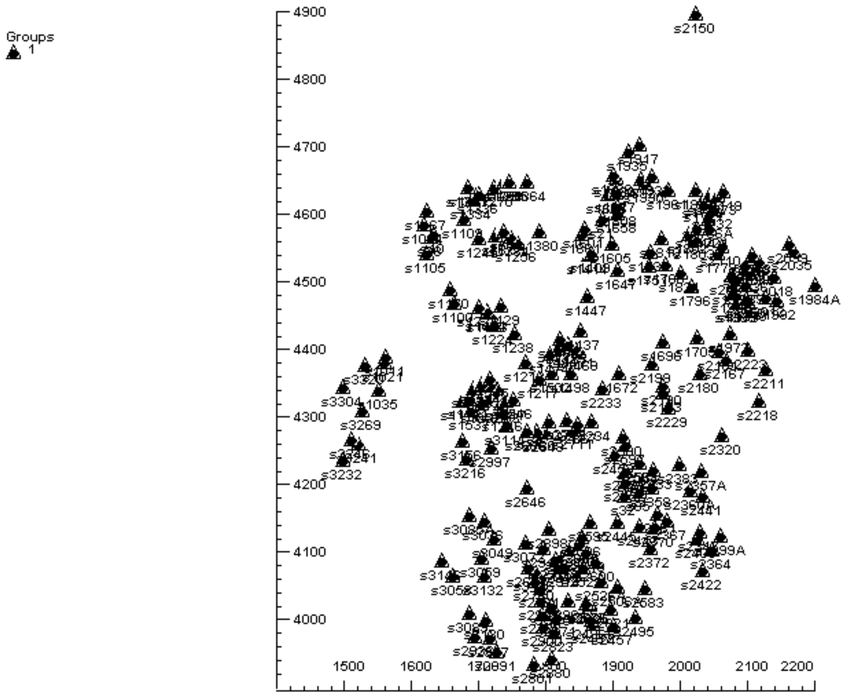

Fig 8.26. The spatial distribution of male group I, (i.e.) miniature tweezers, Iron tweezers, razor and miniature shears.

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[13] In group II the sum where two and more combinations appear is 189.

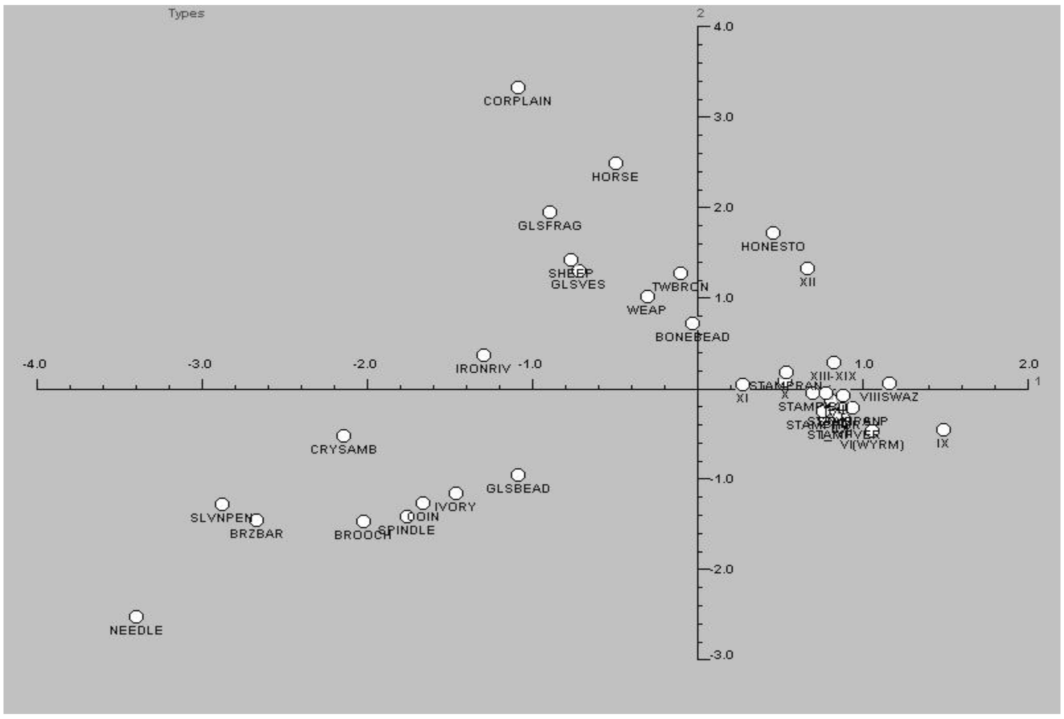

Fig 8.27a (file: ornmads4.orw) Artefacts, ornamentation and gender.

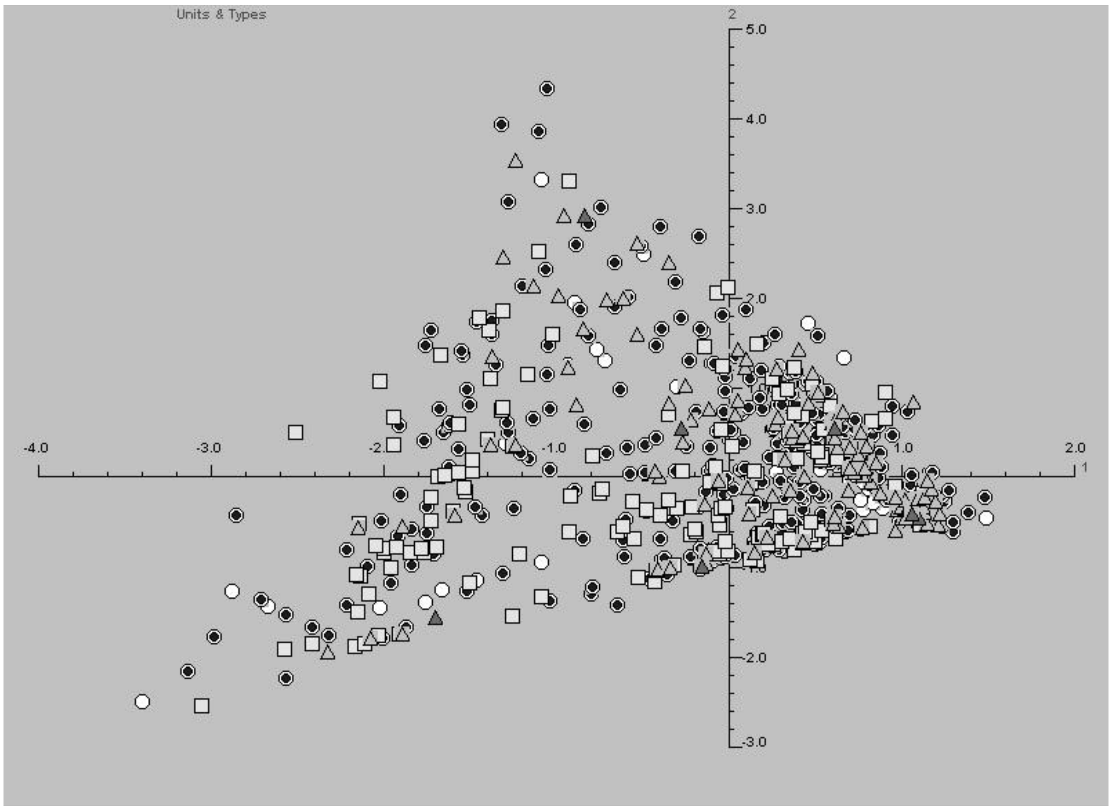

Fig 8.27b. Units and types. Squares are sexed females, triangles are sexed males, dotted circles are unsexed graves, open circles are variables. For these see 8.27. Most sexed female graves in the male side belong to McKinley's category: female? Ie. Uncertain Sexed skeletons, see also text.

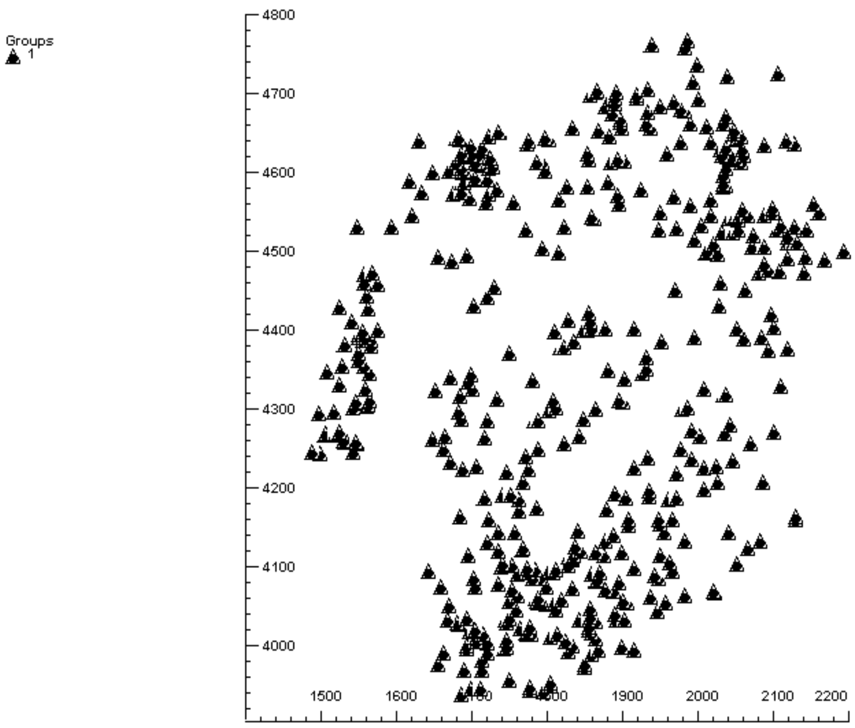

Fig 8.28. Spatial distribution of male group II graves with stamp type XII, sheep, glass vessel play piece, horse, shears and plain cordons.

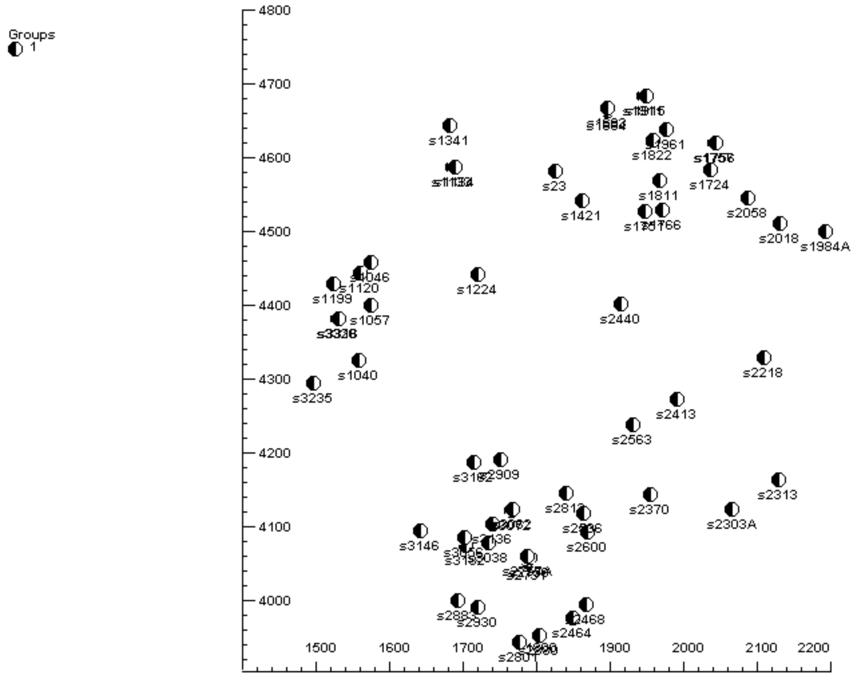

Fig 8.29. Spatial distribution of play pieces at Spong Hill

Male group III

The third group called male Group III, there are a number of artefacts associated with the male graves, such as weapon, tweezers of bronze, glass vessels (glsves) and bone bead which also appear together with sheep. Horse is also in this area, but is an outlier and has been excluded from the analysis. Stamp type XII is also associated with this group. Spatially, group III is distributed over the entire area.[14] Sheep was placed over the entire site, though horse may be grouped into at least 6-7 areas (fig 8.30). In comparison to the conventional analysis, all of these artefacts belong to the group of adults.

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[14] The following distribution maps are not of combinations (unless otherwise mentioned), but of presence/ absence of the mentioned artefacts.

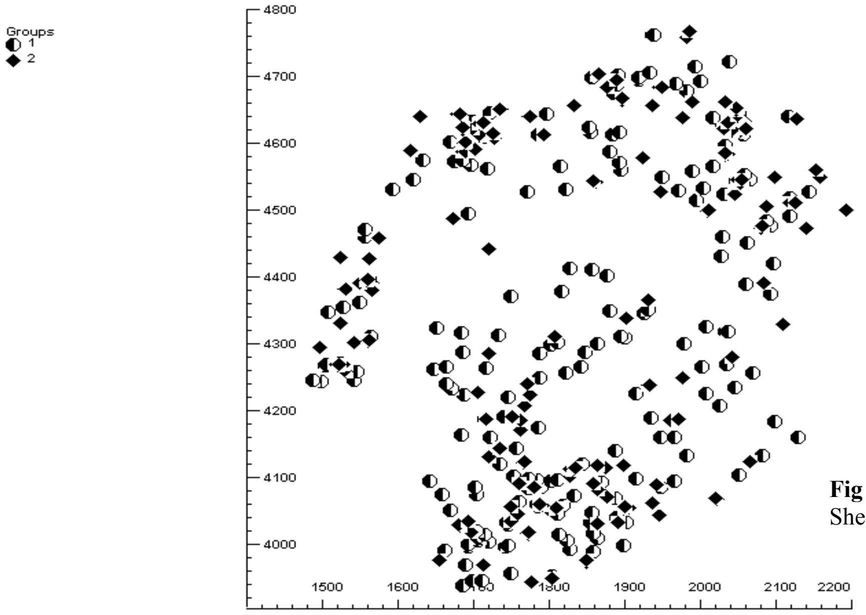


Fig 8.30. Spatial distribution of Horse (1) and Sheep (2)

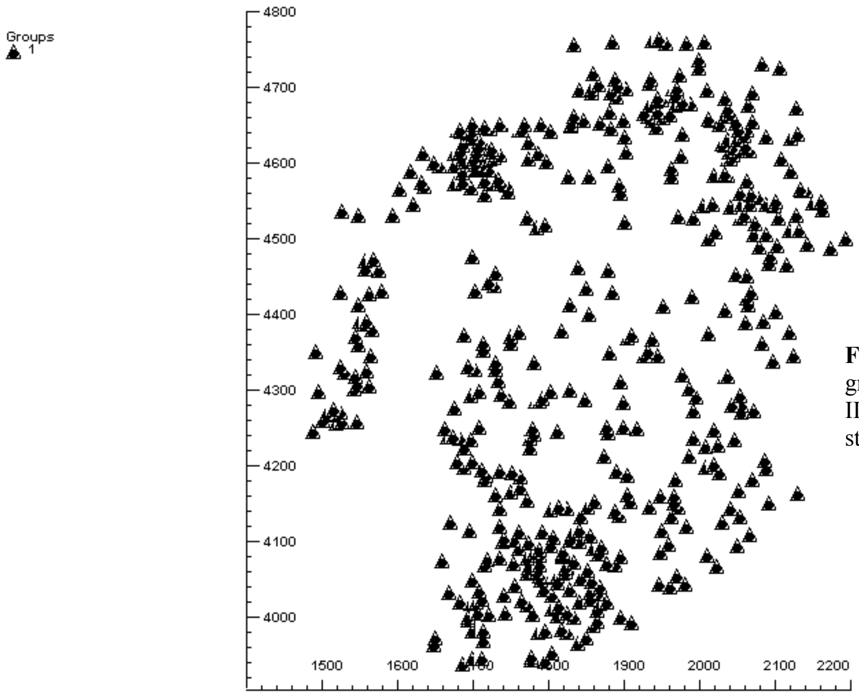


Fig 8.31. Spatail distribution of male group II graves the categories are: VIIIswaz, V, IV, III, II, I, X, XII-XIX. Weapons, bone beads, hone stone, tweezers of bronze, curved cordons.

The female group

In the other end a clear group of artefacts were associated with female graves. The artefact associations were coin, glass bead (glsbead), ivory, spindle whorls (spindle), silver pendants (slvpen), crystal and amber (crysamb), Brooch, Bronze bar (Brzbar). Needle is also clearly placed in this area. It is however an outlier and is thus removed from the analysis. The spatial distribution shows that these categories are distributed over the entire site in a similar way as among the males, except for silver pendants and coin, which lies centrally on the site (fig 8.32). These graves may be early as discussed below.

Though clearly associated with females, needles (needle) did not cluster as close together with the rest of the female artefacts. A reason for this is that they appear less frequently altogether only 6 times at the entire site (fig 8.33). It is difficult to argue that these graves are poor because of their spatial distribution that is central. Bearing in mind the central location of early graves, their central position could suggests that they are early, a fact that is supported by the lack of stamps on urns and the presence of early cruciform brooches. We may, thus, have a slight tendency in the material for a chronological division. The rest of the material seems, however, to appear throughout all periods.

Thus, the pattern points to *no clear internal division* among females, as is the case with males. Maybe this lack of internal social division and competition explains the absence of stamps and ornamentation among women,

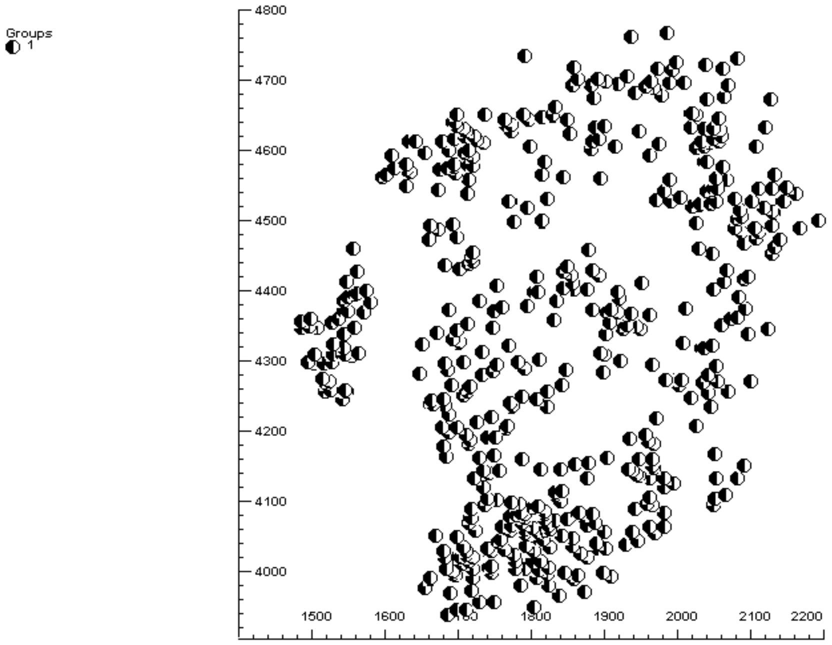


Fig 8.32. Female graves: Bone pendant, needle, silver pendant, crystal and amber, brooch, spindle whorl, ivory, glass bead.

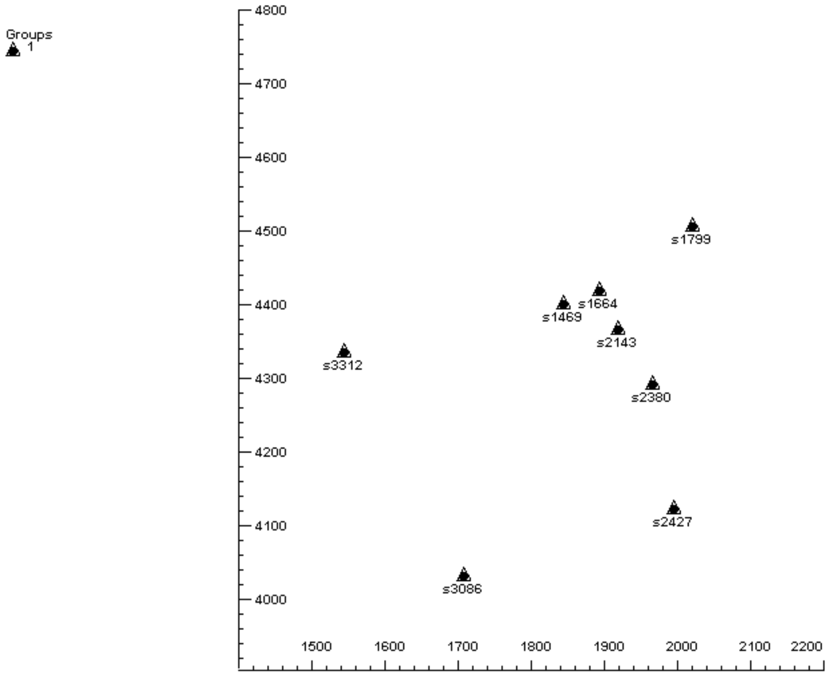


Fig 8.33. Bone pendants and needles. (file.ornam003).

as also suggested in ethnographic field studies (Hodder 1982b). Those female graves that appear in the male side the majority lie in the category “female?” meaning that they may be calculated wrongly as female graves. Also a number of female graves with animals and ornamentation on pots tend to be placed towards the male side. In general the spatial distribution of sexed graves in the sample points to an even distribution, meaning that females and males were buried next to each other in family groups.

Age groups

As implied in the previous discussion there is an even spatial distribution among the sexes at the Spong Hill cremations. This pattern is supported by the distribution of age groups, because McKinley’s division into adults, sub-adults and infants are evenly scattered over the entire site (figs 8.34; 8.35; 8.36). In a multivariate analysis (fig 8.37) it was clear that the group A with miniature artefacts distinguished itself and had to be excluded for a further analysis. In this group we had the largest concentration of children in comparison with the other groups, meaning that this may indeed have been a social group where age mattered less. This may substantiate that this group was of a lower status than the other groups identified, especially if one suggests that age mattered more among higher status groups, a fact that remains to be substantiated among the later analyses. Naming and excluding group A, the next analysis reveals a clear pattern (8.38). There appear two groups called group B and C. By closer scrutiny it is clear that these two groups

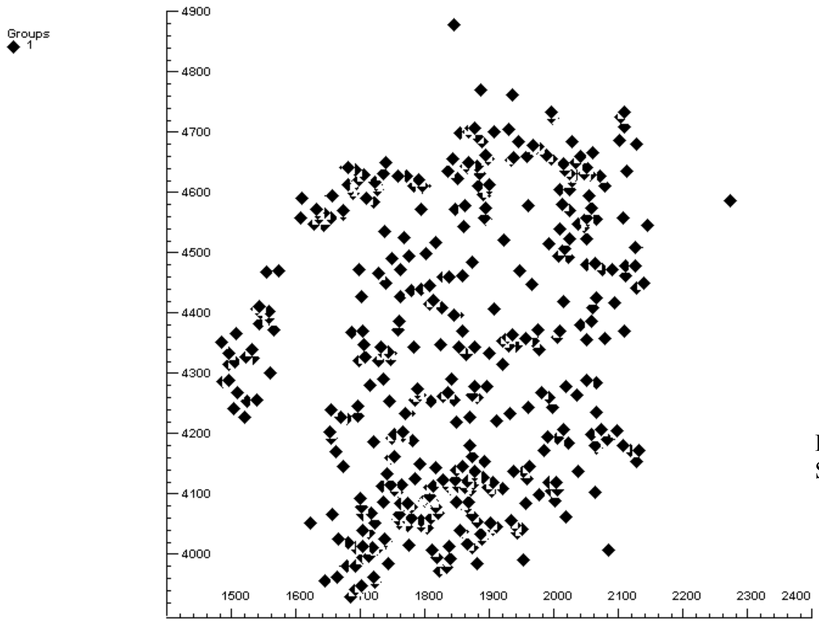


Fig 8.34. Spatial distribution of sub-adults at Spong Hill

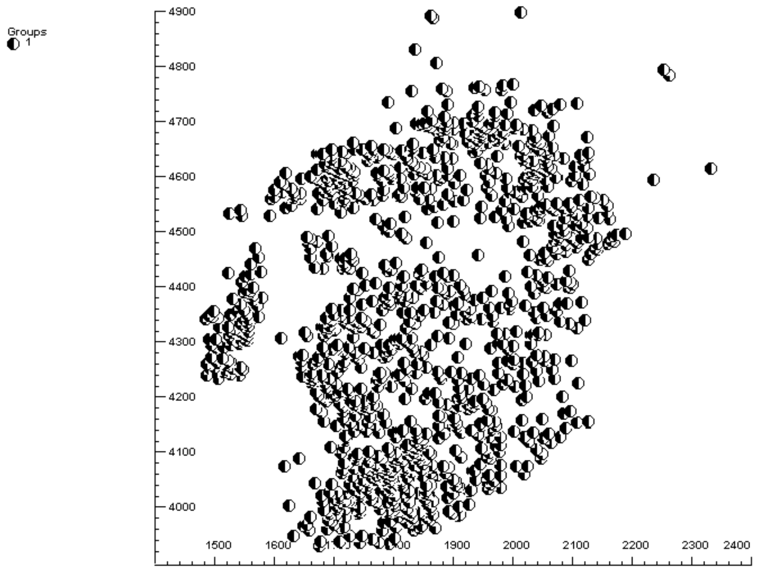


Fig.8.35. Spatial distribution of adults at Spong Hill (spongage).

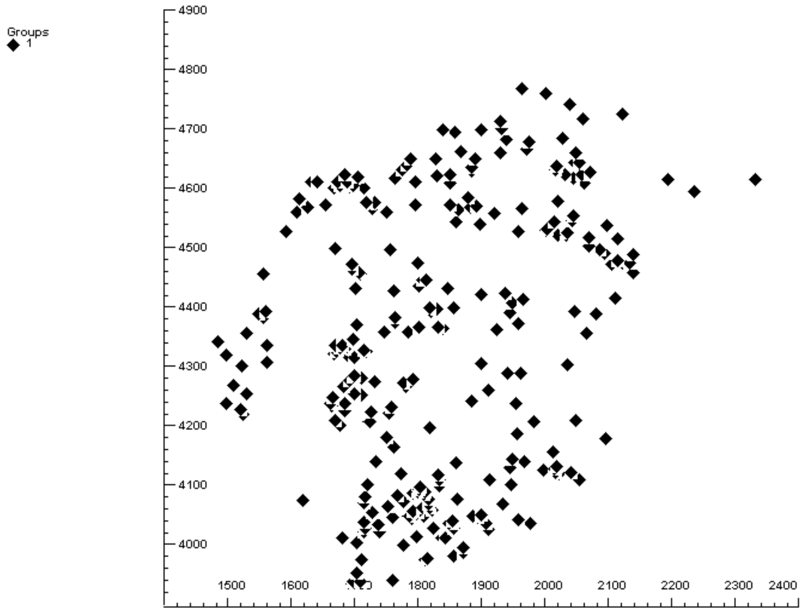


Fig 8.36. Spatial distribution of infants at Spong Hill (spongage).

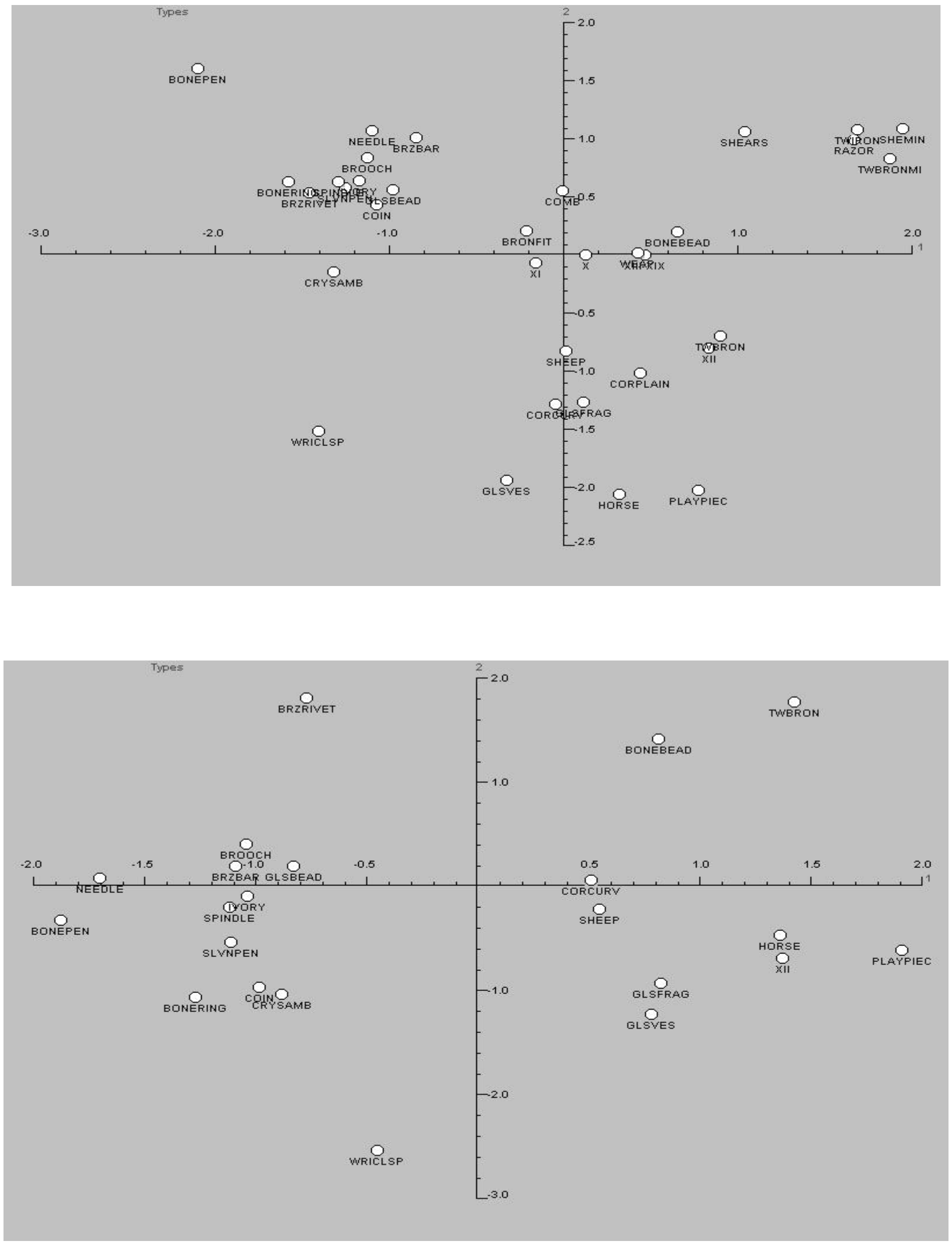
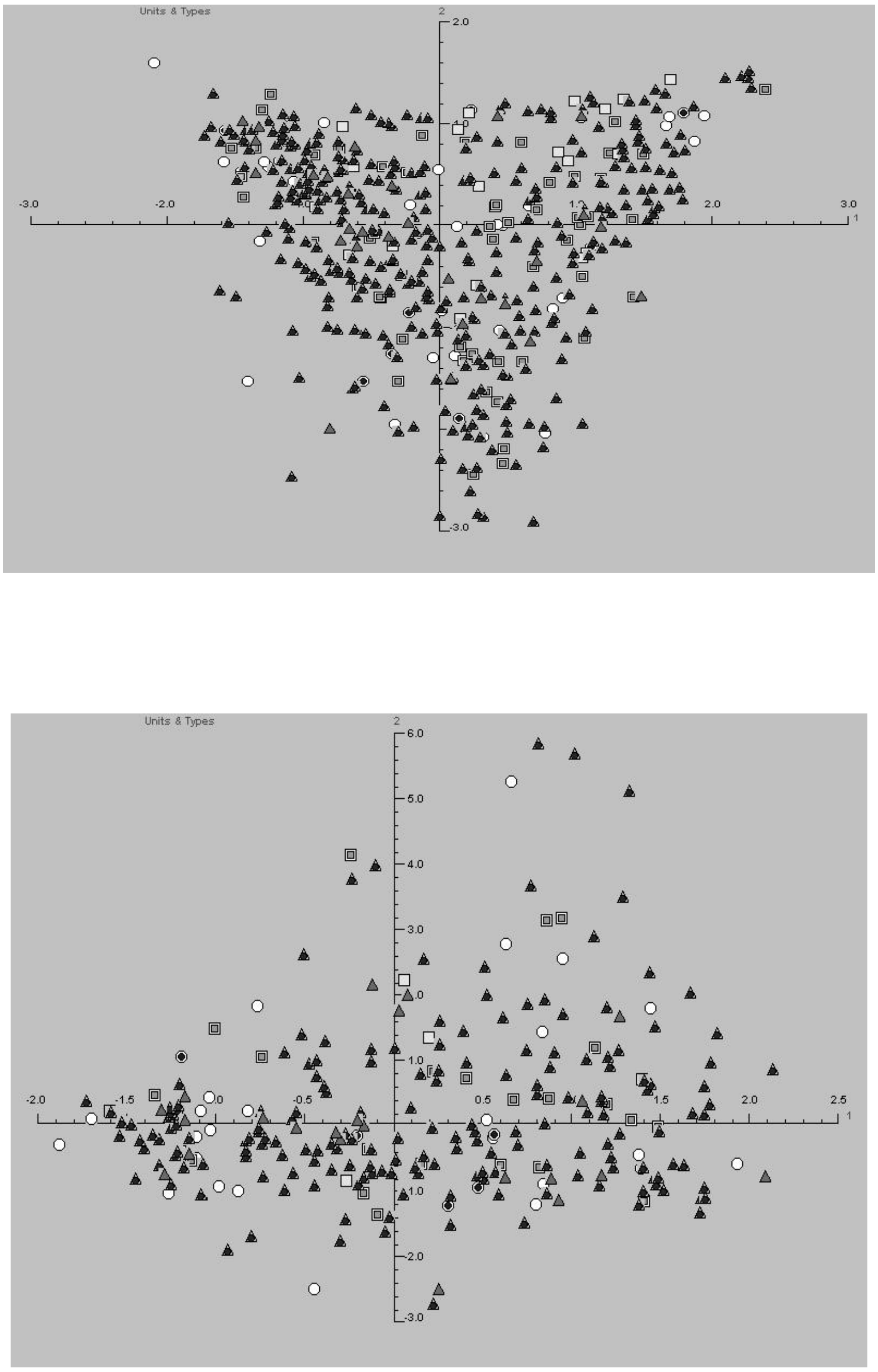


Fig 8.37a and 8.37b (FILE: age2002a and age2002d) Distribution of age in relation to artefacts.



Figs 8.38a and 8.38b (FILE: age2002a and age2002d) Distribution of variables and units. Triangles = sexed adults, Open squares = sexed infants, semi-open squares = sexed subadults. Filled circles = unsexed graves. Open circles = variables see 8.37a and 8.38a.

contain female and male artefacts revealed in the analysis of gender, suggesting that gender mattered more in the grave goods than age among the inhabitants at Spong Hill. It is clear from this picture that in the one side of the plot we have male things such as weapons and in the other side a female group where we have the traditional spindles etc. There is a concurrence of horse and stamp group XII in the male side. Also here in this area we have neither young adults nor children, suggesting that these symbols belong to a group of elderly men. We also have glass in this area. Thus, it seems that in the analysis of graves and artefacts in relation to age we reached a pattern in terms of gender that looks like the pattern we reached in the analysis of gender, without the large number of stamps though. This may suggest that only few stamps were used in a clear way to assess age. In this context stamp XII is the exception in that it was situated in a clear connection with horse and elderly men and playing pieces, a pattern that was not visible in the traditional analysis of stamp XII in relation to age.

Interpreting the groups

In sum, the structures found from the CA analysis of the cremation graves and the conventional analysis cannot be interpreted as chronological. Neither was it possible to trace any clear-cut ethnic patterns. The male group I, I suggest to be the less significant group of the three. This contention is made, partly *ex silentio*, by the absence of a significant relationship between ornaments and partly, by the presence of two other male groups which, judging from the quality of the material, was more significant. Male group I is, however, not the poorest group, as the poorly equipped graves excluded in the analysis must have belonged to less significant persons. Whether the latter could have been thralls will be discussed when the textual sources and the archaeological evidence are discussed in Chapter nine.

The male group III and age group B has symbolic content in terms of mainly sex and age because adult males dominate it. This conclusion is made on the basis of coincidence of play pieces, horse, playing pieces and glass vessels in the gendered group, as well as in the aged group of the CA. The meaning of play pieces could be that games had intellectual status as chess in the high medieval age, symbolising intelligence, flair for strategic thinking and the ability to lead a battle. Interesting in that connection is the significant association with animal burials, especially horse, an association that is also seen in conventional analyses throughout Anglo-Saxon England (Crabtree 1995). Does this, as in earlier Roman Iron Age weapon offerings in Denmark (Ørsnes 1988), and North German cemeteries (Gebühr & Kunow 1976; Weber 1996:172) as well as Gotland in the Migration period (Jensen and Nielsen 1997:56) indicate that older prestigious men were war leaders who lead the battle from horseback (see also Steuer 1982)? In any case there is a significant relationship between adult men, horses and play pieces at Spong Hill and between older men and horse at the Continent pointing to a relationship between high status, mobility and warfare. Only one stamp type, type XII, can be associated with this group. Stamp type XII may be interpreted as phallic symbols[15] which fit into an ideal of power and potency.

The zoomorphic stamp type IX could only be associated in a significant way with males in a general way as was also the case with the Wyrm design (type VI) as well as with the swastika VIII. Hills (1983:100) suggests that the few animal designs (graves 1021,1265, 2443, 2642A, 2937A, 3114) often occur in relationship with swastikas. Though the sex of only one of them could be assessed as male and the rest as adults, I suggest from the CA that the six pots with both types of designs belonged to a number of special persons of the family, probably a leading adult male. The few graves makes it difficult to substantiate or explain the importance of this tendency further, but the presence of both animal, sword and miniature artefacts in some of them points to the fact that they were important. Nor can their position at the site support that they alternatively could have been a special family spread over six generations, since they are scattered towards the South, West and North of the site (Hills 1983:101) with only few grouping together. The animal design being found both in Angeln (Capelle 1987) and on the Gallehus horns in Denmark (Brøndsted 1960:324), as well as in the later Viking period (Roesdahl 1992:14), suggests an interregional connection, and supports the importance of animal especially horse in the Anglo-Saxon and Nordic world-view, maybe mythology.

It is strange that weapons in the conventional analysis could be associated with children. The question then arises what an association between weapons and children means. The multivariate analysis of age was surprising in that there was no connection between children and weapons. A closer look suggests, however, that more than half of the graves (i.e. graves 1105, 2851a, 2892, 3145, 3234) were adult graves and only graves 1051, 1217, and 1227 were children's graves containing arrowheads, graves 1211, 3271 being sub-adults' graves and grave 3114 of unknown age. Excluding children's graves 1227 and 1217 from the analysis changes the picture dramatically in that weapons then clearly are associated with adults (fig 8.38). Thus, the question arises: were the two children's graves with arrowheads so unusual that they bias the analysis, meaning that the real picture clearly associated weapons with a family of both children and adult males, as identified by among inhumation graves (Härke 1992a:187). I suggest so, because lumping arrowheads together with scabbards and sword pommels, as I have done, in a category called weapons may blur the meaning of both[16].

The spatial distribution is interesting because all graves with weapons are distributed in the western end of the site suggesting that weapons could be a late phenomenon (fig 8.39). Due to too few stamp links in the weapon graves it could be neither confirmed nor denied whether

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[15] For instance Hills et al 1994, fig. 97 x357, 2877 etc.

[16] Interestingly in Issendorf in Lower Saxony there is also a connection between children and arrows (Weber 1996:169).

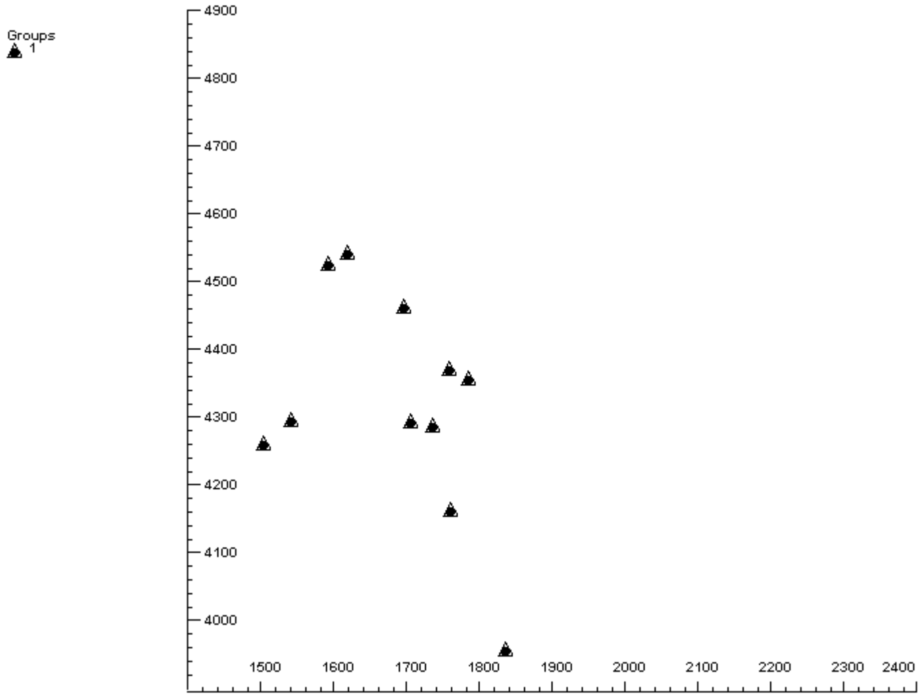

Fig 8.39. Spatial distribution of weapons at Spong Hill.

they are roughly contemporary, grave 3114 belonging to stamp group 44, grave 2892 belonging to stamp group 47. Neither does the content indicate a clear late or early tendency, though the occurrence of many stamps at the pots suggests a relatively late date. Based on the spatial distribution and the presence and number of stamps, it thus seems that a warrior ideology expressed through male children and adult males with arrowheads and swords (i.e., scabbards and sword pommel being the only parts of weapons found), was emerging already in the cremation ritual. It thus, could be contemporary with the weapons in the inhumation graves

The general pattern from the analysis of both age and gender supports the contention that all were buried in family groups, different sexes next to each other, the old leading male, the groups with miniature artefacts together with females and children, as suggested by McKinley (1994)[17]. This picture supports the overall idea of a *family based* cemetery with internal social division *within* a farmstead according to age.

Speculation about the size of population at Spong Hill

As Spong Hill is totally excavated an estimation of the average population size at a given time can be attempted. McKinley's (1994:70), estimates the population to be between a minimum of 446 or a maximum of 768, the minimum number based on a life time of 200 years, the maximum number based on the assumption of 150 years of occupation. Only a clear assessment of the chronology can assess whether her results have any reliability. Given that an average household is 8 or 10 persons it follows that there were in average a minimum of 44 or a maximum of 76 contemporary households within burial distance of Spong Hill, a large number that cannot be substantiated by contemporary settlements in the area. McKinley's estimate was 56 family units, one unit being 8 persons. If the size of a settlement was the same as contemporary 5th -7th century West Stow consisting of ca 3-4 contemporary farms (West 1985), we would expect 14 contemporary settlements in the catchment area. According to McKinley it appears in the Domesday book (McKinley 1994:70) that 646 individuals lived in North Elmham, given the catchment area was only North Elmham. If the settlement consisted of 10 contemporary farms, as estimated at Mucking (Hamerow 1991)[18], this means that there were 5-6 contemporary nuclear settlements using Spong Hill as a burial ground. In any case the site must have been the burial ground of more than one nuclear settlement, maybe a region.

With such speculative assumptions I shall not qualify any of the numbers above only emphasise that the distribution of contemporary cemeteries suggests a catchment area of a ca 16 km elliptical area around Spong Hill, the nearest being Pensthorpe ca 17 km away, to the west Castle Acre, to the south Rocklands, ca 30 km away, to the east Markshall (Myres and Green 1973).

Discussing other cremations in England

Richards' analysis (1987) of cremation graves is here seen as the most relevant reference to other cremation cemeteries, because he addressed a number of the same problems as above at a larger scale. Given the early days of computer analysis, his methods may seem less advanced, which is another reason to compare with more recent methods. Richards' aim was to assess non-random correlations between artefact types, skeletal data and ornamentation in a number of cremation graves from England, reaching an understanding of the "grammar" of their construction (Richards 1987:34).

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[17] A similar pattern is identified by Weber (1996:174) in Issendorf, in Germany.

[18] It is, however, not entirely sure that this site is totally excavated (Tipper pers. comm.).

He identified a positive relationship between older males, cows, horse, and large pots, a relation he interpreted as high status. As is evident from the analysis from Spong Hill there was also here a relationship between old males and horse, whereas sheep could be placed more among sub-adult males.

What may seem a problem are Richards' combination groups 0, 1 and 2, because the variables only accounted for 15 % of the variability (Richards 1987:87). Group 1 which contained miniature iron tweezers, miniature iron shears, miniature iron blades, razor and miniature bronze shears belonged to the group of male artefacts. Also miniature toilet implements were correlated with tall pots, vertical lines and standing arches, and were seen as marking high status. Miniature shears were correlated with dots and round bosses, cordons and unrestricted stamping.

Interestingly, at Spong Hill the CA analysis also showed a distinct group containing miniature artefacts. At Spong Hill, however, no clear correlations between bosses and cordons could be associated with miniature artefacts, in fact the absence of any significant decoration was dominant. This group called group I at Spong Hill was interpreted as belonging to the relatively less significant persons on the site. Thus, although I agree with the identification of a group with miniature artefacts, I disagree with Richard's interpretation of it as reflecting a group of high status males, since also females appear in this group. It is, however, not clear what the group meant, as there is a poorer group of poorly furnished graves as well. From the analysis of Spong Hill of artefact combinations in relation to age, sex and spatial distribution as well as the presence of only iron, I suggest that there are better indications for interpreting graves with miniature artefacts as having a meaning which cannot be identified here but which has a relatively low or different status.

Interestingly, whereas Richards managed to assess a correlation between old men and horse *separately* (Richards 1987:200) the CA analysis of Spong Hill assessed a correlation between playing pieces, adult male and horse and sheep *together* in group B. Also he suggested that playing pieces could be associated with high status as well as glass vessels, a pattern which can be supported from the analysis of Spong Hill and indirectly from comparison with earlier continental material. Animal burials appear mostly in male graves, as also Richards assessed with a geographically wider sample. At Spong Hill there could be found no positive correlation between infants and animals. Richards' group 0 is likely to be poor graves, a pattern which is similar to that on Spong Hill.

Glass vessels he correlated with stamp design types 3-5 as well as tall pots. The connection between age and glass vessels is supported in the CA at Spong Hill where they appear together with playing pieces, and stamp type XII which can be called "repeated", "multiple" and "outlined" as Richards does (1987:appendix F:4).

Richards found a pattern among bronze tweezers, which were different from that of iron tweezers as was also the case at Spong Hill. That bronze tweezers especially are found in tall vessels with a narrow neck suggests that they belonged to a higher status group, a fact that is supported in the CA combinations of the artefacts in group III at Spong Hill. The weapon group at Spong Hill may, therefore, be explained in three ways. Firstly, it could be a late phenomenon that the chorological distribution supports. Secondly, it could be a regional phenomenon. But then one would have expected it to be present also in Richards' sample, as he included parts of Spong Hill. The third possibility, which does not exclude the first, is that Richards' methods simply were not as advanced as the CA analysis. Consequently, an explanation for his different or lacking patterns is too much "background noise". The "background noise" could also be explained by the fact that Richards ignored any chronological aspects in his analyses.

As on Spong Hill, Richards found an overall tendency among all cremation sites[19] for decorating more than 80 % of the pots, thus seeing a high degree of conformity between Anglo-Saxon cremation sites. He interpreted this to reflect a cultural unity, except from the stamps, which he suggested to reflect a regional variation. This pattern is supported by all analyses of Spong Hill. Although the specific association between for instance, round bosses and dots, which Richards associated with children, cannot be supported in the CA from Spong Hill. Rather it was proposed that this pattern is a chronological phenomenon.

Richards' group 2

Richard's Group 2 showed a positive link between female skeletons, glass beads and ivory and he suggested those to be female artefacts. This group corresponds with the female group 0 identified at Spong Hill in the CA analysis with that addition that the CA analysis of Spong Hill could associate more artefact categories with females. Thus, at Spong Hill there was a significant link between spindle whorls, crystal, and many other traditional "typical female artefacts", which Richard's method could not identify to a significant degree, a fact

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[19] He analysed 18 sites in England. The sites are: Abingdon, Baston, Caistor-by-Norwich, Elsham, Illington, Lackford, Longthorpe, Loveden Hill, Markshall, Mucking, Newark, Sancton, Snape, South Elkington, Spong Hill, Worthy Park, York-Heworth, York - The Mount, according to Richards amounting to ca 2500 graves (for a detailed account please see Richards 1987:58).

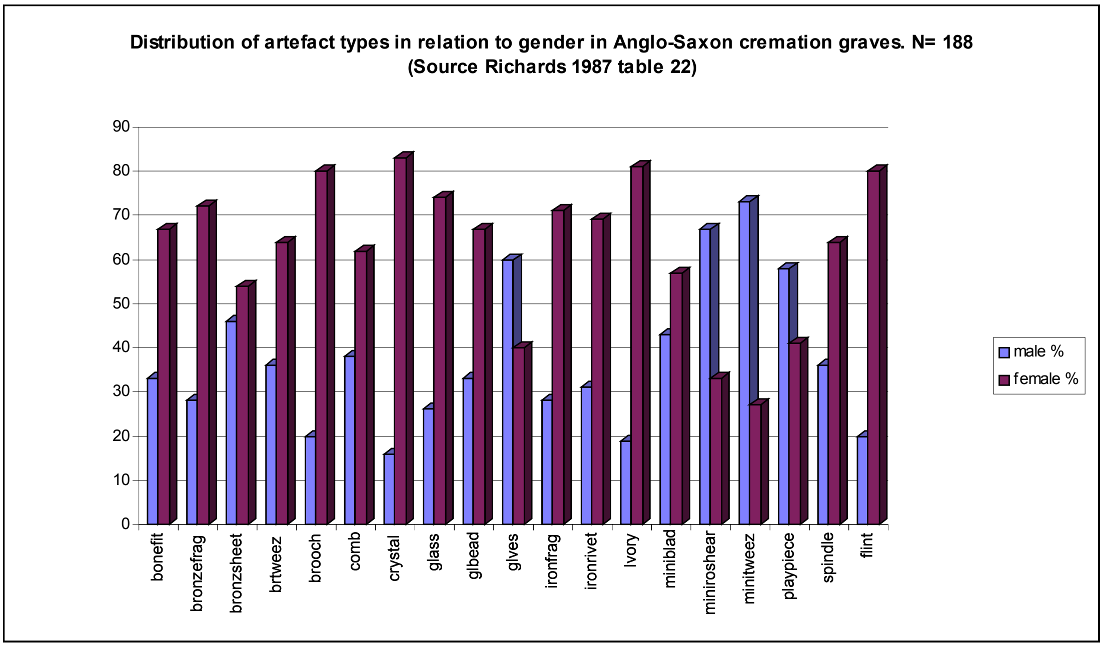

Fig. 8.40

that is surprising because his own conventional analysis (fig 8.40) shows a clear connection. At Spong Hill, ivory fell within the female group with no tendency to separate from the very homogeneous female group, suggesting that status at the micro-level was expressed through men or that lower status women were archaeologically invisible. The comparison of stamps between a large interregional group and the site of Spong Hill is not useful as they were used in regional identities.

Revisiting Richards' data

As suggested above, Richards data are not complete. To assess the validity of some of his data and to make them compatible with the Spong Hill analyses, other statistical methods have been tried. In methodological terms we can thus create an understanding of the relative strength of the CA analysis and his significance test.

A look at the conventional analyses in comparison with those from Spong Hill[20] shows as at Spong Hill that females are dominant at Sancton, Baston, Loveden Hill, Illington. Mucking is dominated by males (Richards 1987:116ff). McKinley (1994) suggests this pattern to be due to partly a bias towards sexing more females than males, the bones of young males being mixed up with females, partly because more females die from childbirth.

Gender, and artefacts

The data are not available in Richards' thesis to test the significance of gender in relation to artefacts in a CA analysis, though a table of his observations of artefacts in relation to sexed skeletons (fig 8.40) suggests a relation between spindles, beads and women, shears and playing pieces and males, as is also assessed in his groups, except for spindles. Interesting here is that the conventional analysis of the distribution of artefacts in relation to gender is very similar to that of Spong Hill (fig 8.23). It is clear in both histograms that spindle whorls occur in mainly female graves. Comb deviates somewhat as at Spong Hill it occurs in both male and female contexts, whereas in Richards' sample comb appears more among females[21]. Glass vessels are, as at Spong Hill, a male phenomenon, which is not really apparent in the conventional analysis, but clearly in the CA.

The comparison between age and artefacts is not straightforward, as Richards has not subdivided his categories in a compatible way. That there is a correlation between old adults and play pieces is seen from the CA analysis of Richards' table 26 (fig 8.41), as is also the case at Spong Hill (fig 8.37a). Infants are placed in the periphery of the scattergram suggesting that they deviate substantially from the other, as at Spong Hill. Not surprisingly, there is a correspondence between mature adults and artefacts normally belonging to females and males. In short, fig 8.41 shows a tendency towards two major groups where there is a correlation between older males, iron rivets and playing pieces. Secondly, among infants miniature tools are present.

All analyses clearly showed that infants were considered different from children[22], because infants appear in the periphery of the analysis whilst children appear in the same group as adolescents being associated with bronze tweezers. This must mean that at a certain age children

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[20] As the bones were recorded incorrectly at some sites the most recent analysis has been taken from Mckinley (1994:86).

[21] This is also what Hills found in her survey of combs (pers. comm.).

[22] In Richards' thesis infants are assumed younger than children, though it is not defined anywhere as such. In my analyses infants and children are used synonymously.

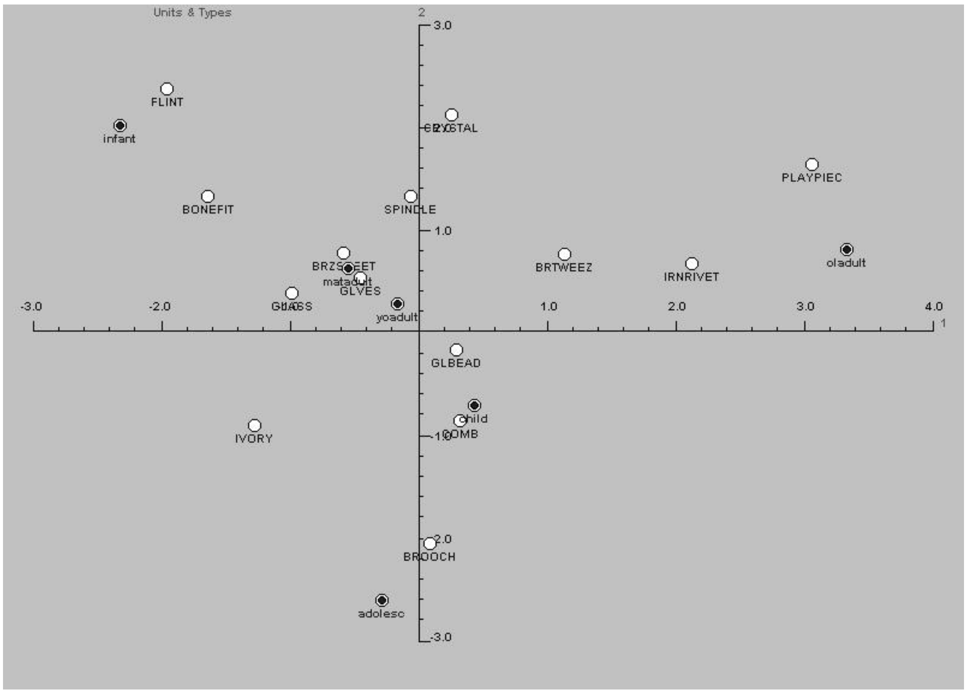

Fig 8.41. (file:rit2002a.orw). (source Richards 1987:table 26). Distibution of artefacts and sexed skeletons. Key as defined previously in this chapter.

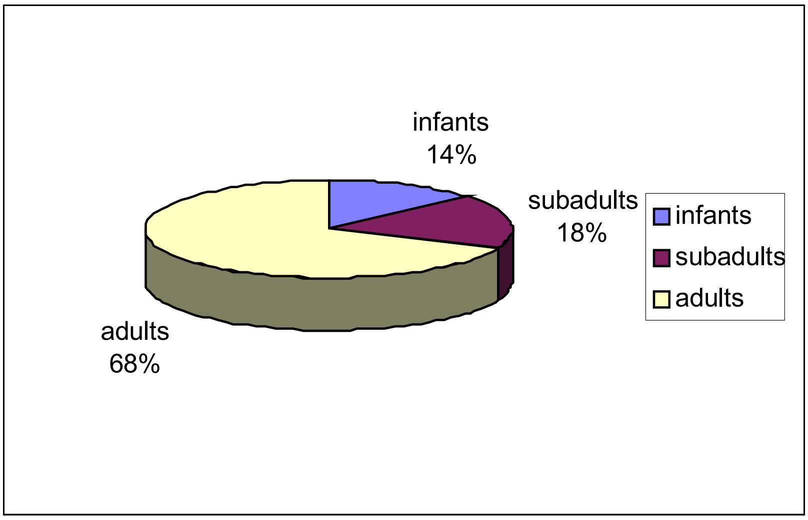

Fig 8.42. Miniature tools at Spong Hill and relation to age.

were treated as grown ups in the burial ritual, as suggested in inhumation graves by Härke (1992a:191). From a comparison of skeletal data and written sources Härke sets the age between infants and children to between 0-3, children until the age of 7-10 (Härke 1994a:4)[23]. Unfortunately, such specific data could not be produced for Spong Hill.

There are also a number of differences between the analysis from Spong Hill and that of Richards. For example among miniature artefacts at Spong Hill most of the graves (fig 8.42) belonged to grown ups, supporting the contention that combination with miniature tools was not an indicator of age let alone of children, but rather was a social group.

Comments

Richards study was one of the first on a large material to establish a relation between form and decoration of Anglo-Saxon cremation vessels and the social identity of the occupants. As implied few of his correlations are clear-cut as seen from the low significance level below 10%. The low significance level was probably because

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[23] As brought to my attention by Hills, boys in England could be dressed as girls until the age of 6 as late as the 19th century, suggesting that they were of “neutral” sex. This was also the case in Denmark (Høilund Nielsen pers.comm.)

…"the PCA was combining so many attributes, at such a low level, that groups which seemed intuitively obvious to the experienced eye did not emerge above the background noise" (Richards 1987:208), meaning that: "It is frequently the *combinations of motifs* that produces the overall visual effect, rather than whether a pot has lines sloping downwards to the left or right" (my emphasis, ibid).

Thus, he recommended future scholars to proceed more intuitively, looking for the combinations of motives. This has been done here by implementing the CA analysis. Another problem was the relatively large geographical area he covered, meaning that his results may have been levelled out due to different geographical variability. It seems that ignoring the regional groups in Anglo-Saxon England, whether they belong to ethnic groups or not, is not appropriate. In order to avoid background noise, therefore, it must be suggested, especially in England where the differences between regions are so distinct (Myres 1969; Brush 1994), to analyse each cemetery/region individually as in this thesis. When the similarities and differences within the region are discussed in terms of chronology and social structure, then one can proceed with discussing the similarities and differences between the regions.

Concluding discussion on cremations in England

In general there are many similarities between the material analysed at Spong Hill and the cremations analysed by Richards. The deviances can be explained by less sophisticated data and methods, which could not identify as clear a pattern as the CA. On that basis I find it reasonable to conclude that the pattern at Spong Hill can be expected to be found at other cremation cemeteries in England, with a number of regional variations on the theme. At Spong Hill three status groups were identified among the cremations. 1) The first, and I suggest the most prestigious, is group III where playing pieces may have symbolised the ability to lead a battle, glass vessels had connotations in terms of external relations and animals symbolised prosperity and power. Group III were mainly older men who led the battle, a pattern also identified in the Germanic graves at the Continent from the Roman Iron Age (Gebühr & Kunow 1976). It is interesting that the association of playing pieces also bears resemblance to Odin and his wisdom (Davidson 1964:45). Also the presence of the horse in this group leads the thought towards the horse of Odin, Sleipnir (Davidson 1964:41). That horse must have been meaningful in burial ritual and not just reflecting economic aspects, is substantiated by the fact that the presence of horse and dog is much higher at Spong Hill than on for instance settlement sites such as West Stow (Crabtree 1995:24). The presence of glass suggests that it is a symbol of the drinking rituals so well-known in the Beowulf poem. 2) Male Group II is less clear. It may have been the retainers or warriors which distinguished themselves towards the end of the lifetime of the cremation cemetery, possibly developing into the ones of the inhumations. They had a number of stamps on their pots suggesting that they were in a negotiating position between the rich and the poorer, trying to legitimate their power, not only with their weapons but also with a religious relation to the warrior god Thor. I suggest that Thor can be associated with the presence of hone stone and swastika symbols, both known to be related to fire, the swastika symbolising his hammer. At least this association is known from later sources (Simpson 1979; Davidson 1964). The presence of those symbols in that combination is also noticed at other Anglo-Saxon cremation cemeteries on an intuitive basis (Reynolds 1980). It is however striking that it was not possible to trace this group clearly in the analysis of age groups, which makes the proposal speculative. 3) The least significant of the three groups was group I, buried with iron miniature artefacts. I cannot from the archaeological evidence prove anything but that they were less well placed than the two other groups in relative terms. They spread over all ages meaning that they cannot be an age group of children as suggested by Richards. 4) The lowest level could be the least prestigious social group. Those are identified as the 1151 badly or unfurnished graves, which were excluded early from the CA analysis due to insufficient or lacking variables. If this is true, the less significant groups consisted of between 40 - 46% of the entire population at the Spong Hill cemetery[24].

East-Anglian social structure

As outlined above it is possible to distinguish three male groups. The female group is homogeneous pointing to an internal division at the micro-level only among men, whereas at the macro-level, women, being more heterogeneous, played the role as "ethnic markers" between various regions, as also indicated from brooch types in general and from inhumation graves (Brush 1994:253).

The site generally suggests a much larger size of the settlements or catchment area than can be seen in, say, contemporary Vorbasse in Denmark (Hvass 1983). Alternatively, the cemetery has been used by more settlements in the area, a pattern which is also different from that of Scandinavia and south-east Europe.

In other words, the social division seen from the burial custom spreads *within* the individual family. There is no central group of rich graves among the cremation graves distinguishing themselves before the inhumations appear. But the two-three identified farmsteads in the inhumation graves, I interpret as documenting a development towards more powerful families which expressed their speciality *between the farmsteads* by, firstly, inhuming themselves away from the rest, meaning that they also interpreted religion differently than the majority. A similar pattern is also identified in Issendorf in the 5th and 6th centuries (Weber 1996:173). Secondly, by being interred with a proportionally larger number of weapons, mainly spear and shield boss, they expressed their ideology of war (through weapons) as well as dress (belts)[25], a pattern that is seen over the entire English area between the 5 and 6th centuries (Härke 1992a:165). In comparison to cremation graves where they expressed their warrior ideology and relation to Thor through the use of a number of stamps, especially the swastika (Simpson 1979; Reynolds 1980; Davidson 1964). Stamps, ornamentation and animals almost disappear in the inhumation graves, being succeeded by, to us, more "obvious" symbols such as spear heads and shield bosses, not found in the cremation graves (Härke 1992a:160-161, abb 26 & 27)[26].

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[24] The real number is 46% (1151/ 2485 x100) but the number is probably lower, as at least 5 % of the graves were excluded form the analysis due to insufficient co-ordinates, disturbance and grave robbery.

Now it is only the most powerful family that is inhumed with a sword, suggesting that the sword developed into a strong symbol of power, elitism and supremacy, as also extrapolated from Beowulf in Chapter one[27]. It is interesting that Odin is considered as the "giver of swords" in the mythology (Davidson 1964:49), which could imply that the association between Odin and the elite continued in the inhumations. Spear heads and shield bosses represented a lower but still important group, maybe the retainers, as also observed in Härke's sample (1992a:168).

Playing pieces are observed in some inhumation graves (Härke 1992a:161), pointing to a continuation from cremation to inhumation of the use of playing pieces as a symbol of leadership. Although the use of horse and animals in general decreases significantly in the inhumation ritual, the presence of horse gear (Härke 1992a:161) indicates, however, a continuation of the prestigious relationship between horse and power though the symbols changed[28]. In grave 40 at Spong Hill the unique presence of a bucket and its association with social drinking habits from Roman Continental Northern Europe springs to mind (Hedeager 1992). Also the belt buckle, as well as the tumuli indicated by the ring ditch could be potentially powerful symbols, as both are known from Sutton Hoo. From the CA analysis it seems that the practice of *wider combinations, quantitatively more material and higher quality of material* became important in the inhumation rite, suggesting that an image of an afterlife closer to the later known Valhalla in the literary sources can have been introduced. In the cremation rite fewer and, to us, less visible symbols were implemented[29].

Though some of the difference between inhumations and cremations could be explained by different conditions of preservation of material, I suggest that cremations in general had another meaning and other symbols, as especially seen by the plentiful presence and selection of ornamentation on pots and the absence of similar ornamentation on pots from inhumations. Inhumations and cremations, being partly coexistent, suggests that neither chronological nor preservational factors can have been the explanation for that difference.

In short, the special nature as well as the relative late date of the inhumation graves points to a family layer that had distinguished themselves, socially and religiously, from other less "rich" farms, still cremating their dead. This contention is supported by the fact that the 57 inhumation graves cluster in the northeastern corner of the cemetery, away from the cremations. It could mean that the family belonged to a more powerful group of society, maybe the lineage of the local leaders of the region and that they tried to monopolise their interpretation of religion by interring their dead in another way. Because, ritually and religiously, inhuming people may mean that the emphasis is more on the actual burial than on the rite before (McKinley 1994).

I suggest that the poorly furnished graves, both among cremations and inhumations were those of the less important of the individual farms, as also seen in Scandinavia. This means that even the poorest in a farmstead were considered a part of the family and its religion, suggesting a similar relationship between domestic slaves and patrons as among the Romans.

Inhumations, cremations and ethnicity ?

As seen, there are many similarities between Continental and Anglo-Saxon symbols suggesting an ethnic identity of the Anglo-Saxons as Germanic. Recent discussions (Jones 1997:84) define ethnicity as subjectively ascribed descent groups assuming real or assumed common descent[30]. If this definition is correct it can be seen that already in the cremation graves there was a strong Germanic ethnic identity present, both at the micro-level among men at the individual cemetery as well as among cremation graves at the macro-level among women (Brush 1994:253).

Thus, the ethnic indicator came early, meaning that the occurrence of inhumations may have been a social and religious rather than an ethnic explanation. If one can accept that a different grave ritual reflects different interpretations of social structure and ideology, then one could argue that the persons who were inhumed considered themselves socially different from those who were cremated, and they may have expressed this difference as one of religion. Thus, a scenario materialises where a small social elite monopolises the interpretation of religion, possibly by emphasising a warrior ideology of the Ases in the 5th century, as indicators from gold and weapon offering finds also suggest in contemporary Scandinavia (Hauck 1987; Fabech 1991:300). This interpretation does not contradict Härke's (1992a:218) proposal, but stresses more than earlier that the Germanic identity is not exclusively related to inhumations. Thus, analysing the relationship between inhumations and cremations, I suggest that inhumations reflect an elite seizing power and ideology, expressing it through their mode of interring their household, poor as well as rich. The correlation found by Härke (1992a:207) between epigenetic traits does thus not prove the presence of a Germanic elite, which necessarily came from the continent, but could as well express an elite of a family which *believed* that they came from the continent (as many of them probably also did, but much earlier) and which were of the *same family*. Thus, it is not wrong that the relatively taller persons can be identified as the elite as suggested by Härke (1992a:196). What is less certain is that taller skeletons not as well may reflect a better diet, which undoubtedly was the case among an elite, regardless of their genetic background.

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[25] See also Treherne 1995 and Carver 1989:148.

[26] Though it cannot be excluded that hone stones were present. All that can be said is that they were not recorded by Härke in his sample suggesting that there was not a significant number.

[27] See also Raw 1992.

[28] Another example is the presence of a man's grave with horse and sword recently excavated in Lakenheath, East Anglia).

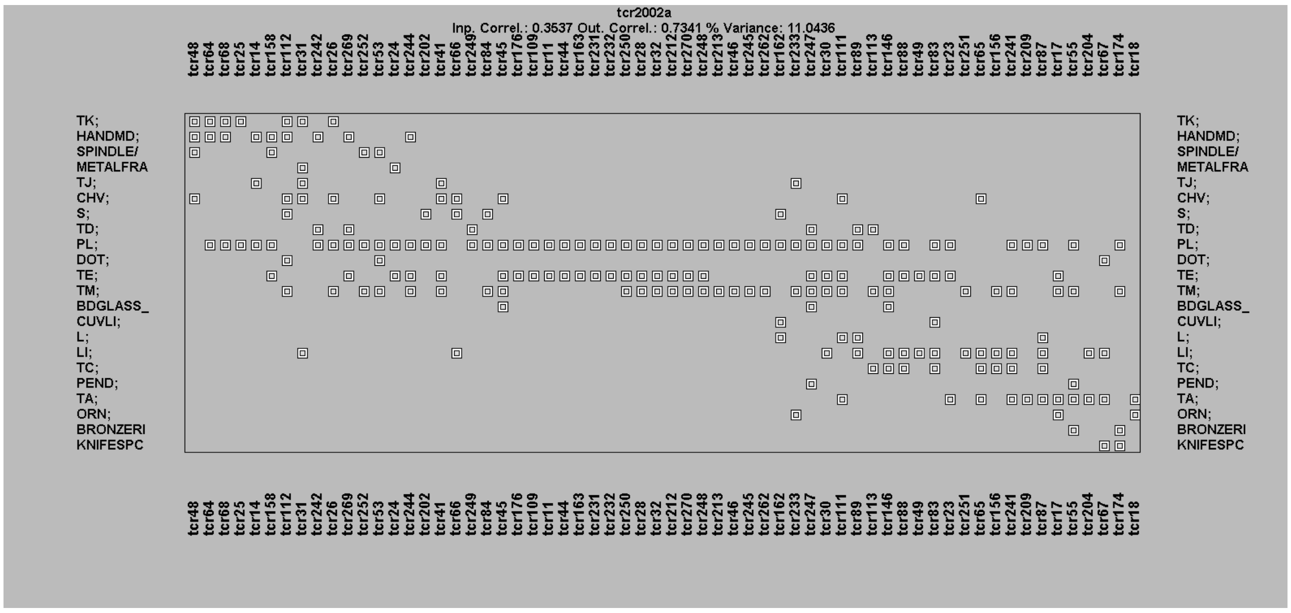
[29] They are only made visible in a significant way by the CA analysis.

[30] A definition which is almost identical to that of Wenskus 1961:14, (see Ravn in press) see also chapter one.

I have shown that cremations are just as "Germanic" as inhumations in terms of symbolism. The difference, not being one of chronology nor regionality, suggests to me that the difference between cremations and inhumations is one of ethnic/religious identity but not racial reality. That difference is not important as people live their identity (Bourdieu 1977) as reality.

Conclusion

My analysis in this chapter has tried to contribute the discussion of social significance of burial material by analysing Spong *Hill in depth.* By applying not formerly used techniques such as multivariate CA analysis *statistically significant* combinations of material culture in graves were identified. These are interpreted as symbolic reflections of sex, age, social and ethnic status. The combinations of material were supported by the concurrence of sexed graves in the CA appearing with a number of gender and age specific artefacts. My analysis shows, as in the analysis of other cemeteries, that material culture was selected and used conspicuously as symbols of status, ethnicity, age and gender in different rituals in various ways to express an internal divide within the community. The CA was a useful tool, which could help unravel some of the meaning of that selection.



Appendix. Seriation in social space of the cremation at Tigsor (see fig 6.17).

Chapter Nine

Conclusion – towards a synthesis of historical and written sources ?

A view from the edge of the grave…….

In this book it is assumed that grave rituals form an important part of social structure. It is seen as a way of reaffirming the social order in the biologically inevitable occurrence of death. This model was confirmed in the historically-specific written sources in Beowulf in Chapter one. Seeing grave rituals as such, it follows that every artefact and its non-random combinations with any other feature in the grave is expected to be potentially meaningful in terms of social structure. Following from this, it has been possible to make a number of conclusions about Germanic social structure by identifying and comparing non-random similarities and differences between selected cemeteries and *combinations of artefacts* in cemeteries in Europe. The method has been to analyse a number of cemeteries in depth, by trial and error, identifying symbolically-loaded artefact categories. The results from the cemeteries have been compared with other cemetery analyses and find categories in Europe, such as houses and hoards, in order to compensate for a bias that may be present in cemetery material (Hodder 1980; Sørensen 1987). It is thus realistic that the picture identified forms part of a Germanic habitus - the social practice of living and dying.

In the course of this book I have analysed combinations of grave goods not formerly considered in an interregional perspective. I have done this by applying compatible techniques, not previously used in all three areas at once, such as the multivariate analysis, as a means of social analysis. The multivariate analysis, in combination with conventional statistical analysis, assessed the nature of combinations of material culture in graves by identifying patterns which have been interpreted as not due to chronological or regional patterns. The comparative analysis supported the conclusion that combinations of material culture were used conspicuously as symbols of status, power, gender, and ethnicity in Eastern Europe, South Scandinavia and Anglo-Saxon England.

The early medieval family

All cemeteries in the samples analysed are interpreted as family cemeteries. The interpretation of a family is based on the fact that they are relatively small and divided in various ways, either into groups by gender, or into small plots where males, females and children were buried alongside each other. Härke (1992a:207) and Stoodley (1997) were able to substantiate this hypothesis by epigenetic analyses of skeletal material. Such analyses are also possible for cremated bones but have not yet been attempted. By dividing by the years of occupation, the cemeteries can be interpreted as the cemetery of a farmstead, except Spong Hill, which must have served as a cemetery for several areas and settlements.

Calculations based on all cemeteries show that the Germanic people between AD 200-600 lived in small rural communities ranging from the size of a farm-unit (8-15 persons) to a minor hamlet, with some regional variation. This pattern is substantiated by comparing cemetery size with settlement finds where they are available, such as was the case at Hjemsted. Though it is not the main focus of this book, it was seen from the general archaeological analysis that all communities practised a mixed subsistence economy based on farming and domesticated sheep, cattle, pig, horse etc. (e.g., Crabtree 1995), as is also suggested in written sources (Kuchenbuch 1978). Specialisation was identified at the level where jewellery and pottery was produced locally in a region with some redistribution in the area, though future work will probably qualify this conclusion.

Cremation and inhumation

It is tempting to interpret the contemporary inhumation and cremation rituals as reflecting two different ethnicities in England the Romano-British and the Anglo-Saxons, but it is not that simple, as similar inhumation and cremation rites in, for example, Denmark and southeast Europe show. In Denmark it was shown that the variation is due to a mixture of regional differences (Ringtved 1988) as well as social differences (Storgaard 1994). In Chapter six it was demonstrated that it could partly be explained as an ethnic difference in southeast Europe, though here it was also mixed up with a time difference. In other words, the burial ritual can have many meanings as indeed it has today. It must be concluded that it is the specific context, which decides which of the above options is right. The difference between cremation and inhumation may not have changed the inherent meaning of the funeral, in that it was the act of burial itself that may have been essential for transferring the body to a new state, whether this involved the body's consumption by earth or flame (Vermeule 1979), as is also the case today.

Cremations are not sex or gender destroying, as suggested by Brush (1988), or ethnically destroying as Härke's (1992a) conclusions imply. It is possible to identify sex, gender, age and status and a Germanic ethnic identity with a sufficiently powerful method in the cremation ritual as in the inhumations. As an alternative to Brush's suggestion, one could suggest that, instead of destroying gender, status, and age, the cremation destroys the *body*, both physically as well as metaphorically. A compensation for this destruction is the symbolically loaded grave gifts, especially the ornamentation on pots.

At Spong Hill, it was possible in a statistically significant way to relate the male body to beauty, hair, power and war, as suggested by the presence of combs, tweezers and shears and swords, and a number of symbols on pots. At Spong Hill, the pots in inhumation graves were, however, much less decorated, but grave goods much more visible, evoking a less subtle meaning. Thus, the two rituals may have different meaning in relation to the means by which the body travelled to the other side, but the end destination and the social meaning may be the same, although communicated in different ways.

Evidence of retainers ?

It was not possible directly to identify the institution of retainers in the graves. There was however, a presence of a number of "special males" in the community, identified at Spong Hill and in South-east Europe, not in Jutland and probably at Bornholm. Possibly they should be interpreted as retainers - at least until a better explanation has been proposed. The written sources are clear about the presence of such an institution, as was evident in the discussion in Chapter one as well as in general archaeological scholarship (Steuer 1992). In spite of the absence of weapons in the graves in western Denmark and southeast Europe, this was the best explanation for the internal division, often among the men *within* the community, as was explicit in Tigsor and Spong Hill. The different combinations, which could not be identified as indications of wealth, were interpreted as being internal symbols of a chosen dissimilarity in the ritual. In Spong Hill, the group contained a combination of pottery stamps, such as swastika (VIII) stamp types X, I, V, IV, II, III, XIII-XIX, and curved cordons on the pots. This group I suggested may have been a social group that was in a negotiating position between the lesser and more prestigious groups of men, thus explaining the amount of symbolic expression on the pots. Their symbols, I suggest tentatively, can be related to Thor, as he is often associated with swastika (Davidson 1964). In the inhumation graves at Spong Hill, it was clear that the sword had taken over as the symbol of the warlord in death, as seen in grave 40 in the later graves, and that the retainers only had shield boss and spearhead with them in the grave, even though the latter most likely had a sword in life. The importance of the sword and rings as powerful symbols is suggested by a number of scholars (Steuer 1992). In Beowulf they both appear in the context of high prestige gifts between the warlord and his retainer.

The inhumation graves at Spong Hill are interpreted as being two or three farm units separating themselves out from the rest of the community, though in technological terms the similar pottery fabric suggests that they still had access to the same raw material.

In southeast Europe, belts buckles may be interpreted as symbols of male gender and power, an artefact with a meaning, which certainly increased in later Germanic society. As mentioned above, the so-called male group B1 among the inhumation graves at Tigsor were seen as a special group of males. This coincidence supports an overall social structure among the Germanic people, which gave warriors importance. This goes for the Gothic cemetery Tigsor, in cremations and inhumations and Spong Hill both in cremations and inhumations. Hjemsted and the cemeteries in Jutland are too poor, and men too invisible, to support such a picture, but a similar pattern is supported in Bornholm as well as in Jørgensen's comparative study among the Lombards in Italy (1992; Jørgensen et al 1997:83ff). In other words, the pattern of an extended family and warriors seems to dominate Germanic social structure from as early as the turn of the millenium. This book has added new circumstantial evidence in support of that hypothesis. Additionally, this presents an explanation for the meaning of the concurrence of a number of artefacts, which appear in combination with the obvious symbols such as swords and rings.

A Germanic world-order

What we find in the graves are thus symbolic representations of the Germanic world order. That this world order counted both in death and in life is seen by the presence of similar institutions identified in Beowulf (Raw 1992; Herschend 1992; 1997; Hill 1997; Hills 1997). As discussed in Chapter one, texts are seen as an affirmation of the world order, as are the material objects in the graves, supporting a similar ideology in life as in death. The present work is, to my knowledge, one of the first attempts to connect the socio-historical content extracted from written sources and relate them to a large and *statistically significant* material in selected regions of Migration Age Europe, thus making the analogy between the textual and archaeological evidence much stronger. Following Trigger (1995:456), this enterprise could be called a methodological development of a "culturally specific middle-range theory".

Similarities and differences among the Germanic people in Europe

A number of similarities and differences between Scandinavia, south-east Europe and Anglo-Saxon England should be emphasised:

- First, the settlement and environmental material in Scandinavia, south-east Europe and Anglo-Saxon England is very similar. We see this in a similar type of houses, economy and craft. Athough the pots were wheel-turned and glass may have been produced locally in south-eastern Europe, there is not much else suggesting that the two regions had a very different economy. If this is the basis for an analogy, it is most likely that the social structure was similar in Scandinavia as recorded among the Goths. The presence of "centres" in all three regions and the level of specialisation is similar.
- Second, at the micro-level of the cemeteries, we see a similar type of society in all three regions, suggesting that social structure in the rural community was the same. In all regions we see a pattern of

cremations and inhumations possibly related to status, as well as an internal division related to the farm. It is most likely that we can divide the small-scale community into a) large farms, b) ordinary farms c) and small farms. In Hjemsted and Scandinavia particularly we had positive evidence for such a division. Also, Stoodley has evidence for such a pattern in England (Stoodley 1997).

- Third, in all three areas it seems that the earliest and richest graves were placed initially in the centre and other families were buried around them. This suggests an ideology of a "founding father" an idea cultivated much in the written sources (e.g. Ammianus Marcellinus 31:7,12).
- Fourth, It was possible in all regions to associate dress accessories with gender. Similarly, in all regions, females could be associated with spindle-whorls, children and other domestic tasks. I shall discuss this point further below.
- Fifth, in all areas females were underrepresented except in Jutland. In Jutland we have no skeletal data, making it problematic to discuss the reality of this pattern. It could, however suggest that the pattern of inheritance was different in Jutland than in many other regions.
- Sixth, in all areas there was a connection between gold and power. I have developed this fact and related it to the cult of Odin. If this is true, the elitist ideology permeates all the way down to the relatively insignificant level of the local "elite" in a rural society.
- Seventh, in all regions, both inhumations and cremations appear. I have discussed this above.

Germanic family and inheritance

Was Germanic society thus patrilineal or matrilineal ? When one analyses grave structures, it is important to distinguish between a *system of inheritance*, meaning the transference of material wealth, and the *transmission of office*[2]. In both patrilinear, matrilinear and bilateral societies, the system of inheritance does not always follow the transmission of office (Eriksen 1993:103). So it is only with some reservation that one may argue from the graves whether or not the descent groups in Bornholm, Sejlflod, Hjemsted, Lindholm Høje, Tigsor and Spong Hill, belonged to bilateral, patrilineal or matrilineal families. The different graves suggest that the system of inheritance in the burial rite differed between Bornholm and Jutland, but was quite similar between Bornholm and Anglo-Saxon England as well as south-eastern Europe. In Jutland, women were buried in one side of the cemetery. In Bornholm and in Anglo-Saxon England, as well as in south-eastern Europe, men and women were buried next to each other. As mentioned in Chapter one, in the interpretations of written sources there are different opinions, pointing to both a patrilineal and patrilocal descent line among the elite (Kuchenbuch 1978), or to a bilateral ego-centred kindred (Murray 1983)[3]. I am convinced by Murray's analysis that Germanic kinship was cognatic and ego-centred, maybe with the exception of the royal families[4], but the archaeological record cannot substantiate this pattern convincingly. Here we must rely on the written evidence.

The fact that there is a varying pattern between men and women in grave-goods display could, all things being equal, point to a cognatic hereditary system in Bornholm. That females are overrepresented in Hjemsted does not make it possible to conclude that a matrilineal hereditary system was present here, because of the bad preservation at the site, as well as the lack of skeletons. But it could suggest that women were the markers of ethnic identity, as also suggested by Brush in contemporary England.

Social structure and symbolic meaning

It was not possible to identify a clear link between a *reiks* mentioned in the written sources and the graves analysed here. Most of the burials belong to a rural environment. The elite graves in this sample could at the most reflect village leaders (*maistans*) but, lacking bone analyses, identifying a relationship has not been possible in the material analysed here. What we can identify here is the use of symbols in the grave ritual in various small-scale communities, and it is this that I shall now discuss.

Power and hair

The material symbols with which the Germans maintained and negotiated the position of themselves and their family seem from quantitative as well as qualitative analyses, as well as analyses of texts, to point to a relationship between power and hair. This is seen by the presence of combs and tweezers and shears in graves throughout Europe. That many of the combs and tweezers were placed in the cremation graves *after* the cremation in England supports the importance of these tools (McKinley 1994:86ff), otherwise there would be no reason for their presence in graves.

An example is my analyses of Spong Hill. Here, the miniature artefacts in mainly male graves were significantly different from other artefacts. I interpreted these graves as relatively "special" for a number of contextual reasons. The contexts did not suggest any high status, though it does not reject Richards' hypothesis, as my hypothesis is still based on negative evidence. But it is certain that graves with miniature artefacts did not only contain children, as Richards suggests. An alternative hypothesis could be the one outlined by Wilson (1992:139) and Lethbridge (1951:12-13) who suggest that miniature articles had symbolic meaning relating to hair, power and magic (Leach 1958; Hallpike 1969), as also outlined above in the warrior graves. The difference from the warrior graves is that toilet articles here are all of iron, not bronze. Also the tools were often put into the urn after the cremation (Wilson 1992:139). The graves in group I with miniature artefacts could have been persons with a special magical status, but not the highest status. Their spatial distribution did not point to a particular meaning. It is, however, certain that they are more significant than those 1151 out of ca 2500 graves (46 %) at Spong Hill without any artefacts. The latter must be interpreted as the poorer graves in lack of any other term. Confronting the historical texts with the archaeological evidence makes me suggest that a number of these unknowns could have been thralls, as the latter are known from the textual evidence from at least AD 350 (e.g. Ammianus Marcellinus 31:4,11). But there was no positive evidence for this in the archaeological record. Analysis of epigentic traits of family relations could help to establish such a body of evidence in future analyses.

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[2] Defined by Rivers (1924).

[3] In a recent lecture Ian Wood suggested a bilateral ego-centred kinship structure among the Franks.

[4] For a similar view see also Härke (1997:137ff) and Lancaster (1958).

It is likely that a warrior and a war-lord had an ideal of long hair and power, because it is mentioned in the written sources among the Goths (Wolfram 1988) as well as on later Frankish high status graves (Menghin et al 1997:67ff). As seen on the C -gold bracteates, Hauck (1987) also explained the presence of a man with long hair as evidence of Odin. I will discuss this relationship below.

The meaning of drinking

It can be seen from Beowulf that drinking was an important part of the ritual when a retainer was initiated. Whether the drink was mead in regions other than Anglo-Saxon England is hard to assess before a number of containers and their contents have been analysed. In Scandinavia, mead was known later in the Viking Age.

The importance of drinking is substantiated in Spong Hill, Denmark and Southeast Europe, by the presence of either buckets or glass cups, which in Northern Europe appear in combinations with high status. In Northern and Central Europe in the Roman Iron Age this was interpreted as evidence of a prestige goods economy (Hedeager 1992) - as a means of showing a net of contacts with the Roman world. This model does, however, not explain the presence of the artefacts in their own right by explaining that they were consumed conspicuously, as discussed in Chapter one, and as seen in the criticism of the Marxists notion of ideology (Hodder 1982a, 1986; 1990). But that drinking had great symbolic value in the initiation ritual for retainers and in the social life between warlord and warrior explains more, because the social significance of this practice is evinced in a historically particular poem such as Beowulf. Also at Spong Hill, we had a significant connection between glass cups and horse bones, suggesting a strong symbolic connection, which I shall discuss now.

Drinking, status and cult at Spong Hill and beyond

As revealed among a number of graves at Spong Hill, there was a significant relationship between males, horse, shears, playing pieces, glass cups, and the phallic stamp type XII. This I interpret as the most prestigious group among the cremation graves at Spong Hill. Here, men are using animals, especially the prestigious horse, as a symbol of a divine relationship between their power and the God Odin, as also suggested in Denmark in Hauck's (1987) analyses of gold bracteates. Crabtree (1995:24) substantiates this empirically, because he reveals that the presence of horses and dogs at cremation cemeteries are more numerous (and thus sacred?) and deviate significantly from bone finds in settlements. The importance of horses is also seen in Beowulf. Here, it seems the material evidence can qualify the written evidence.

On Møllegårdsmarken in Denmark, a similar relationship appeared to that at Spong Hill. For instance, glass cups appear in one group, weapon and hone stone appear together in another group. As at Spong Hill, a number of animal bones are also present (Thrane pers.comm.), though their proportion and type have not been assessed[5]. Also the "poor" graves with one pot and no furnishing appear in a number that is comparable to that on Spong Hill. It suggests that the cremation rituals in the two areas may have contained a similar meaning at the general level.

Gold, place-names and Odin

In Denmark it was seen that there was a connection between religious sites and the finds of major halls in certain areas. Gudme on Fyn was an example of a major site between place names and gold. This pattern was interpreted as meaning that religion was used as a means for the elite to legitimise their power. What was striking here was the high *quantity* of coinciding sacred place names, halls, gold finds, harbour facilities, prestigious sites and finds, and large cemetery finds[6]. Also the *quality* of finds was striking. In addition, the time span of 800 years of continuity was unchallenged in Scandinavia, though rival places, such as Hoby in Lolland, Himlingøje on Stevns and Lejre in Sjælland, Sorte Muld on Bornholm in the Baltic, with a shorter lifetime, could be mentioned. But it was exactly the large time span that made the Gudme area different from other areas. Also, the fact that a large number of different and prestigious finds were located within a distance of 14 x 9 km in that area (Thrane 1991:260) which made it likely that the place could be termed a political and religious "centre"[7].

If it were a centre, it meant that, around AD 200, a regional leader or king with a seat in Gudme was dominating at least the island of Fyn. The details of this power are difficult to grasp, but it must be suggested from the organisation of finds from the trading place that he at least had authority, which surpassed that of other regions in present Denmark. Also, as suggested by Thrane (1987;

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[5] Also in Issendorf animal bones, mainly horse teeth, were seen to be connected to males (Weber 1996:78).

[6] For instance Møllegårdsmarken (Christoffersen 1987).

[7] Hansen is of the opinion that Stevns is a major political centre. This contention is, however, disputed by a number of scholars because the "centre" is defined on the basis of graves only (Hansen 1995). That the graves are rich is however undisputable. Really the deviances of opinion are more a question of whether the centres are of the same size or whether one is above the other in the hierarchy.

1991:264) and Hauck (1987), a centre of cult in the honour of Odin seemed to form a part of his authority. The coincidence of C gold bracteates, sacred place names such as Gudme[8] Gudbjerg[9] etc., and the iconographic content of the gold bracteates suggest a sacred meaning. The C bracteates, which depict men with long hair and a diadem, are a suggestive reminder of king Childeric's long hair. I have earlier emphasised Hauck's interpretation of long hair as a symbol of royal power and the cult of Odin. One could add that a horse could also symbolise power as well as Odin, because Odin in the mythology was connected to the horse "Sleipnir". It is thus interesting that a similar pattern is identified at Spong Hill where there is a *statistically significant* association between an adult male group and horse and playing pieces. Playing pieces in Spong Hill could suggest that this group of adult males identified themselves with Odin - the intellectual warrior god - as opposed to Thor - the warrior god of physical strength, as suggested by Schjødt (in press). This division can be traced far back into Indo-European history (Dumézil 1958). I suggest then that horse functioned as mnemonic device and as a justification for the leading group by relating itself to Odin. Gold could have had the same meaning in southeast Europe as in Scandinavia. In Tigsor there were no animal bones but a clear connection between gold and status.

Clear evidence of special finds in connection with a sacred place is not present among the Anglo-Saxons in the early period[10]. The identification of shrines (Wilson 1992; Blair 1995, Meaney 1995) can be interpreted in the same way as in Scandinavia. In England, the pagan rites were, however, slowly replaced by Christianity and deviate thus in the later period from the Scandinavian development where Christianity did not gain importance before the 10th century AD. In southeast Europe there is no evidence, or indeed any studies, of place names. It is possible that later and different linguistic influence has deleted any such evidence?

The 42 m long hall in Gudme (Sørensen 1994) as well as the halls at Lejre (Christensen 1993) and Yeavering could easily have been the scene of the events illustrated in the Beowulf poem. This is not the same, however, as claiming that it *was* the scene of Beowulf, only that the structures identified in the poem had a realistic material setting (Hills 1997). Lacking evidence from southeast Europe makes it hard to assess the size of houses in any significant way, though the presence of centres supports the contention of a similar importance of the farm unit or the hall among the Goths as among the Scandinavian Germans.

It is clear that the hall was the centre of the universe and of Germanic identity, as we understand from the Beowulf poem, as well as from the analysis of cemeteries and from identification of halls in the material record. The family cemeteries point to the fact that the house unit was the centre from which all social life evolved, also in small-scale societies. We here have a clear correspondence between the written sources and the archaeology, but the evidence is qualified by the archaeological analysis, because it reveals a level below or before the aristocratic level revealed in the Beowulf poem.

Women

Among women there was a difference between those at the local level and those at the macro-level. Large analyses (Brush 1994) have shown that the heterogeneous dress codes among females were used to signal identity. This heterogeneity cannot be found at the local level. Brush has argued that this pattern, as well as the remarkable stress on regional identity, could point to a pattern of exogamy, a pattern that has also been suggested in Denmark (Werner 1988), even over large distances. This difference among women, which is also identified in Denmark (Ringtved 1988, Nielsen 1991), reveals that they were more visible in the material record, than in the few written texts which probably were written by men for men, even though feminist historians are now starting to scrutinise these texts (e.g., Olsen 1997). That women are associated with the domestic sphere is substantiated by their invisibility in the texts, but also, positively, in the material record from a number of graves where women are found close to children's graves, as seen among the inhumation at Tigsor. At Spong Hill, a positive correlation between the sexed skeletons of females, spindle-whorls, coins, glass beads, brooches, silver pendants and amber and crystal beads, needles and bone pendants could be made. This association to the *domestic sphere* is also suggested among settlements (Therkorn 1987:109ff). The analyses also suggest that women were the *markers of wealth,* as it is mainly among them that we find precious metals. This pattern supports Brush's contention that women were the markers of *who,* and one could add how rich, they were, whereas men communicated *what* they were. Here, the material record is less biased and more informative than the written evidence.

The CA method did not reveal as many neutral graves as have been identified by other scholars (Brush 1994; Lucy 1995). In this way the CA analysis seems more appropriate for grave analyses in that it categorises *combinations of material culture* instead of one artefact, as many other statistical analyses do. I suggest that the many neutral graves identified in earlier analyses are due to less adequate statistical methods. That "neutrals" still can be identified by the CA method is revealed in Hjemsted where a number of "outsiders" were identified positively. Unfortunately, there were no skeletons at Hjemsted which could add to the discussion as to whether the graves were outsiders in sexual or social terms, but that they were strange is seen by their material culture and their spatial distribution away from the rest of the community. "Outsider" graves have not been identified in the other cemeteries. If they were away from the rest of the cemetery, they would not have been found in Tigsor, which is not totally excavated. In Spong Hill they could have been among the 46 % graves that did not contain artefacts.

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[8] Gudhaim means home of Gods

[9] Gudbjerg means Gods' hill

[10] See however Wilson 1992:12.

Where are the children ?[11]

A look at the distribution of children in all three areas suggests that children's graves are generally underrepresented and less well furnished when present. Why is that so? From Lucy's (1996) analyses in Anglo-Saxon England, she suggests that children in general are underrepresented in pre-Christian burials as compared to Christian burials. Either children were not buried, or they were buried outside the cemetery. She suggests that children had come to be seen as a significant part of the community in Christian times, evidenced by the fact that they spatially are placed in a separate group in the cemetery. In the Early Anglo-Saxon period, Härke (1997a:127) suggests a threshold of two to three years before children were considered worthy of having grave goods. Earlier graves are often multiple. From the written evidence in Anglo-Saxon England, it is seen that in Christian times, children were not considered of any sex or status before they reached the age of seven to twelve, females seven to fourteen, a fact that extends into 16th century England and Denmark. From that age, Härke (1997a:127) also sees an increase in deposition of grave goods in Early Anglo-Saxon cemeteries, a pattern which he suggests as typical of gerontocratic societies (1997a:129). The data, both written and archaeological, in this book supports a picture of a gerontocratic society.

In short, what can be concluded from this book is the fact that Germanic society, from AD 200 to 600, was a small-scale rural society, which developed with the family and the farmstead as the centre of the universe. Early in the development, a group of male persons who worshipped war, beauty, power and drinking, distinguished themselves from the families. It seems that these male warriors initially came from the largest farms in the rural community. The presence of "poor" people within the same farm suggests that the difference still was only one of power and charisma not institutionalised laws, as we see in the 7th and 8th centuries. In Beowulf, this social practice is made to appear natural around a hall, which was considered "the real world". "Outsiders" of this universe are "monsters", enemies, or of strange sexuality. Judging from the presence of swords in graves connected to the warlord, this development can tentatively be dated to around the sixth and seventh century (Hills 1997:308; Jørgensen et al. 1997:98). Although it is clear that the actual poem was written down later, I suggest that relicts of a previous ideology could have remained in the text. The archaeology supports this contention (Steuer 1989; Jørgensen et al 1997:112).

The identification of warriors with beauty and power, as well as females in a connection to the domestic sphere, is reputed to reach as far back as the Bronze Age (Sørensen 1987; Treherne 1995), a contention I shall neither dispute nor elaborate upon here. My aim has been to understand the way in which this ideology was used in the *specific context* of Germanic society in three regions of Europe from ca AD 200 to 600 AD.

However to Angles, Saxons, and Jutes who immigrated into England, the use of material culture should be seen as an ideological message where the ideology of war, beauty, Odin, Thor and a Nordic origin, was used. That the "Germanic" identity also became closely linked to more centralised regional power in East Anglia in the early 7th century is evinced by the appearance of the Pagan Snape (Filmer-Sankey 1992) as well as the Sutton Hoo burials in this region (Carver 1992; Hines 1992a) at the same time as other regions of England looked towards the Christian continent (Stevenson 1992; Wood 1992:241). In short, the graves were used in the ideological battle for a more centralised identity. This battle began already among the cremations, became obvious in the inhumations and extravagant in the Snape, Sutton Hoo and Asthall Barrow (Dickinson et al 1992) burials. In South Scandinavia, the graves lost importance in the same period. Instead, the emphasis was on gold hoards and religious sites. But the message was the same.

Summary and future research

A number of future lines of research can be outlined from this book.

- It is here advocated that archaeologists use written sources as historical analogy or "culturally specific middle-range theory", when texts are available, and try to extract the sociology of society at a general level. A methodology has been outlined in this book and in Chapter one and in papers presented in Ravn and Britton (1997). Though a direct link between the written evidence and the archaeological material could not always be made, it is argued that the approximation of the two sources of evidence is a heuristic enterprise that provides us with a less ethnocentric insight into prehistoric or protohistoric society (Herschend 1997). Often the two kinds of sources are talking about the same things in a different way (Morris 1997).
- Ideally, a better way to improve the dialogue between written sources and archaeological evidence is to improve the *quality of the archaeological record* by better and more minute excavation methods, (e.g., flotation, soil-sampling, etc,) instead of pursuing a quantitative and often superficial and partial excavation of a site, as modern entrepreneurs demand. It is apparent that the most useful sites analysed here were totally excavated and worked through by specialists. It was only then that we could make any substantial conclusions.
- An additional way to improve the quality of the archaeological record is to develop and implement advanced analytical methods, in this case the use of powerful statistical analyses. I strongly recommend the use of the CA analysis as a means to understand a multivariate archaeological record. This book is a

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[11] This title is borrowed from a title by Sofear Derevenski 1996.

methodological study in the use of the CA method and should support its potential.

- Further analyses of skeletal material on also cremated bone material and its epigentic traits in Europe would contribute to the aim mentioned above. It could also open a new chapter on the demography of Early Medieval people, because in Denmark, most skeletons from the Iron Age are from cremations and have never been analysed (Boldsen pers.comm.).
- A less national view of archaeology would prevent a number of archaeologies from reinventing the wheel. Following from this, more interregional comparative analyses would be useful as long as the balance between the general and the specific is maintained. This book is such an exercise: I have tried to balance between agency and structure by looking at the social practices in three particular regions, and how these particular sites related to a number of more general structures.
- More regional and contextual analysis would place the cemetery in the cultural landscape, in relation to other sites, be it cemeteries and settlements. Those results would take us much further in an interregional comparative analysis than the data in this book allowed.

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